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*Fig. 1. ANDREA DEL SARTO, *Portrait of an Architect*
Muncie. Ball State Teachers College*

ITALIAN PAINTINGS IN THE W. H. THOMPSON COLLECTION AT MUNCIE, INDIANA

By WILBUR D. PEAT

THE collection of paintings, sculpture, drawings, and furniture formed by Mr. W. H. Thompson of Indianapolis and recently given to the Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, embraces a number of objects which are deserving of wider recognition and further critical study. Since most of the items came directly from Italy into Mr. Thompson's possession, they are unknown except to the few people who saw them in the collector's home or more recently in their new setting. Only two of the paintings have been on public view outside the state.

The thirty-nine items include twelve early Italian paintings, four pieces of sculpture, five drawings, a Majolica jar of the seventeenth century, and sixteen pieces of furniture, for the most part Italian of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The sculpture includes a bust of a boy by Andrea Sansovino, a polychrome stucco relief of the Virgin and Child by Benedetto da Maiano, a small gilt bronze placquette by Donatello, and an Italian bronze figure of Triton of the seventeenth century. The most significant drawing is a small sketch of *The Flight of Lot from Sodom* attributed to Raphael. The other drawings are by Degas and Renoir, and a pair of small water color portraits by an artist of the circle of Lancret.

The twelve Italian paintings, which are the matter of this review, date from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. There appears to have been no pre-meditated plan behind the formation of the group since it does not represent any particular school or movement, although most of the pictures are by Florentine artists. It is as catholic in respect to choice of painters and subject matter as a small collection of Italian pictures could be.

The only trecento painting is the *Coronation of the Virgin*¹ (Fig. 2) by Giovanni del Biondo, a characteristic work of the earlier and better period of this prolific painter. It is a large panel and appears to have been the central portion of an altarpiece of the type of that in the oratory of S. Giovanni Val d'Arno, Florence.² It belongs obviously to the same period, about 1370, when the artist executed also the two small panels of the *Annunciation* in Detroit, which came either from the latter altarpiece or from a similar one. The rather flat modeling, simplified and mannered drawing of the drapery, serene and

almost ascetic expressions, stiff poses and long, shapeless hands are characteristic of Giovanni del Biondo's early phase. The long sweep of the mantle from Christ's shoulders is reminiscent of Jacopo di Cione and Andrea Orcagna, from whom he derived.

The blue-black mantle of the Christ is a striking note in contrast with the light crimson under-robe and gold background; and the white mantle of the Virgin, with its lavender shadows, derives strength through accents of black at points where the lining is revealed. The gold-leaf background is figured with a floral pattern of the Lucca type and extends to the floor under the feet of Christ and the Virgin. The painting, although not the work of a very individual master, is a work of highly decorative quality.

The next picture, chronologically, is also by a Florentine artist, Domenico di Michelino.³ The composition, representing the *Annunciation* in two small panels, is sparse, almost barren. A wall at the right suggests the buildings surrounding a court in which the Virgin has sought solitude. A stone platform or bench has been provided, but other than this there are no accessories. The blue-black sky, which forms the backdrop, is dotted with large, symmetrically arranged stars, against which the red robe and variegated wings of the angel and the crimson mantle of the Virgin contrast pleasingly.

The association of Domenico di Michelino's name with this work is reasonable enough. In some ways the figures resemble those of Fra Angelico, but they are heavier and less refined, and one feels the lack of an expression of spiritual exaltation. The features are small and finely traced, hands are almost without character, and gestures are somewhat stiff. The composition is unusual in that it does not have the arcaded setting, generally employed by Fra Angelico and his followers.

The picture is difficult to date accurately but it seems to fall into the middle period of Domenico's career, around the year 1460. It is less dependent upon Fra Angelico than the *Annunciation* in the National Gallery, London, but less original than the one in the Johnson Collection at Philadelphia, which is probably a late production. Unfortunately the panels are not in good condition. Early damages and recent restorations have considerably modified the artist's technique, making our study of stylistic points difficult. The head of the angel, more than any other important detail, appears to be in its original state.

The picture following this in date is a panel representing a young man holding a banner and sword, by Pintoricchio, one of the most arresting paintings in the group (Fig. 3).⁴ The attribution made by Arturo Grassi of Florence,

seems well founded for it reminds one in many respects of young men depicted in Pintoricchio's frescoes. The composition and pose make it probable that the panel was the right wing of a triptych. It has been suggested that the painting represents Cesare Borgia in the guise of St. George. The bull on the banner undoubtedly connects the saint with the Borgia family, and it is not unlikely that Cesare Borgia (a captain and leader of the armies of the pope) should be represented as the patron saint of chivalry. Corrado Ricci, as well as Phillips and Van Marle, suggest that the three sons of Pope Alexander VI are represented as soldiers in the fresco of the *Resurrection* in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican, and that Cesare is the one in the center kneeling on his left knee.⁵ A comparison of this figure with the panel under discussion is not very illuminating although a family resemblance, so to speak, is discernible. Cesare (if it is he) in the Vatican fresco is about eighteen years old and beardless. In our panel he is not less than twenty-one.

The head of our St. George certainly bears a strong resemblance, however, to the authentic portraits of Cesare Borgia in the contemporary medal and in the wood cut portrait in Paolo Giovio's *Elogi*.⁶ The Pintoricchio portrait helps make it comprehensible that this brutal and dangerous man was in his own day considered the most handsome man in Italy.

Could Pintoricchio have painted this portrait when he was decorating the Castle of S. Angelo for Alexander VI, around 1497? According to Vasari he painted there, among other things, portraits of "relatives and friends of the said Pope, in particular Cesare Borgia and his brothers and sisters. . . ."⁷ At any event, the Thompson picture dates from about that time, judging it by the age of Cesare. We know that Cesare as well as his father employed the artist at different times. (Pintoricchio even visited the former, then Duke of Valentino, at his camp at Diruta, in 1500, when Cesare was carrying on his campaign in the Romagna)⁸ and if this is not a picture from the Castle of S. Angelo it could have been painted on another occasion within the period between 1497 and 1500.

Returning to our examination of the picture itself, we find that it is unusually decorative and colorful. The background is formed by a gold-colored wall, green wainscoting and pink floor. The handsome blond figure is dressed in a blue coat and red stockings. The banner bearing the emblem of a bull has a red cross on the reverse, the colors of St. George. The clear simplified drawing, long curving lines, flat modeling and lack of depth in the composition reflect the style of Pintoricchio. The drawing of the figure is similar to male personages

in his larger compositions in the position of the legs, the lack of animation in the facial expression, and the rather halting movement.

Another picture in the Thompson collection, the head of a young lady by a painter of the Botticelli-Ghirlandajo circle, has also been connected with a member of the Borgia family. Both the identity of the subject and of the artist are a problem. It is believed to be a portrait of Lucrezia Borgia by Bartolommeo di Giovanni (Fig. 4).⁹ The painting is largely a composition in reds and greens. The green of the distant mountains is echoed in the cool greenish-yellow tints in the face, and the dark red of the dress and the light red sleeves are carried over in the red-brown hair. A small scroll in the lower left corner is inscribed with the name *Lucretia*, and a dagger has been added in the lower right corner, which, according to this suggestion of the identity, symbolizes Lucrezia Borgia's virtue by recalling the legend of Lucrezia Collatina, the Roman matron who, having suffered outrage by her brother-in-law, Sextus Tarquinius, committed suicide by stabbing herself to death.¹⁰ This is an ingenious interpretation of the dagger but it is not a convincing argument for the theory that the portrait represents Lucrezia Borgia.

The medals struck to commemorate her marriages, first to Giovanni Sforza in 1493 and then to Alfonso d'Este in 1501, because of their medium and small scale make a comparative study of likenesses very difficult.¹¹ De Hevesy, writing of the portraits of Lucrezia Borgia in this magazine,¹² stressed the fact that her hair was naturally dark but that she made herself into a blonde. She was so proud of her golden hair, in fact, that on her nuptial journey from Rome to Ferrara she stopped no less than five times to wash her hair and dry it in the sun. It is difficult to relate this to the red-brown hair of our portrait. There is no very striking similarity in the features to the other portraits reproduced by De Hevesy, although it must be admitted that they too are considerably idealized. One cannot exclude the fact that other girls were named Lucrezia and in view of the vagueness of the connection, it is probably better to leave the identification of the sitter an open question.

Assigning the work to Bartolommeo di Giovanni as Van Marle did is convincing, I believe. Although the influence of his master Ghirlandajo is discernible and that of the artistic personality of Botticelli is also evident, the work has that clear drawing, full and rather puffy forms which are characteristic of his style. It would be the only portrait ever attributed to this master.

Another portrait of a young lady, reflecting the tradition of Leonardo rather than Botticelli, is the painting by Bernardino Luini (Fig. 7).¹³ The model looks



*Fig. 2. GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO
Coronation of the Virgin
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College*



*Fig. 3. PINTORICCHIO, St. George
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College*



Fig. 5. LORENZO DI CREDI, *Madonna and Child*
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College



Fig. 4. BARTOLOMEO DI GIOVANNI
Portrait of a Lady (Lucrezia Borgia)
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College

pensively down toward her right shoulder, and the graceful, spiral curve of head, neck, and shoulders, produces a pleasing effect. The persuasive, sentimental mood is characteristic of Luini's studies of women.

Adolfo Venturi was right in calling attention to the fact that this pose originates in Leonardo da Vinci's studies for his *Leda*.¹⁴ The tilt of the head and the contraposition of the body are certainly based on his figure of Leda as we know it from the drawings at Windsor and the copies of the lost original. But the pose is still nearer to the figure of Salome in the painting, *Salome and the Head of John the Baptist*, by Luini, in the Uffizi Gallery.¹⁵ Salome, in the center of the composition, holds the dish in which the executioner places the head, her face directed to the left as her hands reach toward the right to support the dish.

Our picture is so close to it that differences are only detected after careful examination. Pearls have been added to the braided hair in our picture, the right hand has been eliminated, and the left sleeve, which is hidden by the dish in the larger composition has been painted in. Otherwise the figures are identical, even to the embroidered edging on the collars and the lozenge stripes on the red dresses. The technique of the Thompson picture is so skillful and the modeling of the forms so sensitive that there is no need to question the attribution of the work to Luini himself. The fact that it is a replica of the figure in the Uffizi picture suggests that it falls within the same period.

In many ways the most pleasing of the Thompson pictures is the *Madonna and Child* by Lorenzo di Credi (Fig. 5).¹⁶ It is a conventional composition but the execution is so fine and the mood so tender that it surpasses many of the representations of this theme that one encounters. Its good state of preservation has much to do with its appeal. The Virgin's mantle is azure lined with gold, and the gold tones are repeated in her blond hair and yellowish flesh tints. The parapet is of a grayed purple hue and the distant scenes, as well as the Virgin's robe are gray-green. The painting of the chubby form of the child suggests Verrocchio's figures of children, but the heavy drawing is characteristic of Lorenzo's work.

The tilt and small proportions of the Virgin's head, her very regular features and sloping shoulders, and the amplexus of the drapery give the impression that the painting was made in the artist's later years. There is less reliance on Verrocchio and Leonardo than an earlier work would show. Although the landscape background is almost identical with the one of the female portrait at Forli, an early work of the artist,¹⁷ the similarity of style to such paintings as the two circular compositions of the *Adoration of the Child* in the Uffizi and the

Metropolitan Museum of Art, the same subject on a rectangular canvas in the Berlin Museum, and the well-known *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in the Uffizi, indicates that it was painted as late as 1500.

The most surprising discoveries in the collection for many people are two remarkable portraits by Andrea del Sarto: one an early production, the other late. The first is that of a young lady (Fig. 9),¹⁸ published first by George M. Richter in 1938 in the *Burlington Magazine*.¹⁹ His enthusiastic account not only called attention to the colors and structural beauty of composition but gave the history of the picture and illustrated an engraving of it that appeared in the catalogue of the collection of the Marchesi Gerini, dated 1759. Linking the picture stylistically with the early frescoes in the entrance court of S.S. Annunziata, and especially with figures in the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Birth of the Virgin*, led to the conclusion that our portrait was painted about 1511 or 1514.

Early records give no clues as to the identity of the sitter. When the portrait was shown at the New York World's Fair in 1939, it was given the title *Portrait of the Artist's Wife*,²⁰ which is however, hardly convincing. Lucrezia del Fede's face was less oval, her mouth squarer, lips thicker and rather pouting, her nose shorter and heavier, and her lower eye-lids fuller. The picture is a very handsome work. The rich composition and good color organization are enhanced by the mood of reverie created by the pensive model and the tranquil scene beyond, caught at the twilight hour. Whatever the identity of the subject, we can agree with Richter that it is a painting of special interest to students of the history of Florentine painting as perhaps the earliest known example of the female portraits painted by Andrea del Sarto.

The other portrait by Andrea del Sarto in the collection represents a young man, presumably an architect as his hand rests on a T-square (Fig. 1).²¹ The modeling is full, and the chiaroscuro and colors are rich. The conception and execution are such as to place the work well along in the artist's development.

In publishing the portrait, Georg Gronau speaks of it as a work of the artist's best period and calls attention to similarities in size and style to the *Sculptor* by him in the National Gallery, London.²² He also points to the similarities between it and the head of St. Peter Martyr in Andrea del Sarto's painting *The Dispute of the Trinity*, in the Pitti Palace, Florence, and refers to a drawing of a young man by him in the Uffizi which might have been made prior to the execution of this portrait and, at the same time, may have served for the head of the Saint in the picture at the Pitti Palace. These comparisons lead to the conclu-

sion that the Thompson portrait was painted about 1516 or 1517.

The picture has an interesting pedigree. It was in the collection of Cardinal Giovan Carlo de Medici in the seventeenth century (an inscription on the back carries the catalogue number of this collection and the dates 1634 and 1662); the Pucci family, near Perugia, came into possession of it in 1662; and later it became the property of Princess Stephanie Ludovisi, Citerna (Perugia).

It is unquestionably a striking work. The alert pose, dramatic light and dark effects, strong colors, and impressionistic technique give it unusual power and decorative splendor. The background is dark greenish-gray becoming lighter behind the man's head, as if illuminated by a beam of light; the cap and cloak are of a dark chocolate-brown color, the shirt is red, and crimson accents or touches are added to the shadows of eyes, nose and mouth. The flesh is warm with cool shadows. The influence of Michelangelo is evident in the conception as well as in the execution, but the style is that of the mature Andrea del Sarto.

Perhaps the most imposing picture in the collection as it hangs at Muncie is the *Portrait of a Cavalier* (Fig. 8) attributed to Titian, and well known from Suida's publication in the *Burlington Magazine* of June, 1934.²⁴ The colors are subdued, almost drab; the wall behind is a gray-green tone, the suit and cap are black, the buttons and chain are gold, and the face takes on a yellowish tinge.

Suida draws the comparison to the so called *Portrait of an Englishman* in the Pitti Palace, stating that "the similarity of the composition and the color scheme is absolutely startling," and concludes that since the portrait at the Pitti was painted in the 1540's that our picture dates from about that time.

It is interesting to note the similarities that exist in these two portraits: chains, collars and cuffs, light beards, dark suits, gloves in the right hands, the quiet silhouettes against neutral, unadorned backgrounds. Stylistic similarities are not so evident, however. The simple line marking the silhouette in the *Portrait of an Englishman* is moving and varied; the pose is alert, though quiet, and the head extremely spirited; and what is most important, the method of painting is loose, almost impressionistic, yet sure in its touch. The *Portrait of a Cavalier* seems to represent a different style and another approach. The silhouette is more severe; the hands and head lack vigor or spirit; and although the work is capable it is academic in conception and rather dry in execution. It is hard for me to be in accord with the authorities who have assigned the Muncie picture to Titian's 1540 period.

The portrait, nevertheless, is a distinguished study of a Venetian gentleman, made undoubtedly by an excellent painter, and since there is no authentic

portrait by Titian which duplicates the one at Muncie we must conclude that it is not a copy after a Titian composition but an original work of the mid-sixteenth century.

The last of the Italian portraits, and the smallest, is the circular panel by Bronzino representing Bianca Cappello, Grand Duchess of Tuscany and wife of Francesco de' Medici (Fig. 6).²⁵ It is only six inches in diameter. The sitter wears a red dress and a starched, upstanding collar, posed against a dark green curtain. The picture has the rich, firm execution which characterizes Bronzino's work, as well as the thoughtful, melancholy facial expression which persists throughout his portraits.

A comparison of this small study with other portraits of Bianca Cappello, particularly the fresco fragment by Alessandro Allori supposed to represent Bianca Cappello in the Uffizi,²⁶ indicates that the identification is possible, although her sweet, innocent expression would belie those adventurous and cruel events which are associated with her name. As Bronzino died in 1572, the year of the murder of her first husband, Pietro Bonaventuri, the portrait could not be later. Bianca appears to be about twenty-three in the painting, which was her age at about the time, 1570, her liaison with Francesco de' Medici was formed.

Although these arguments for the 1570 date are based on the supposition that the subject of the painting is Bianca Cappello, the style of work does not repudiate this conclusion. It is true that Bronzino's mature style seems to have undergone slight changes, making the works of the last decade or two very similar, but the Muncie portrait strongly resembles, in manner, the charming *Portrait of a Girl with a Missal* in the Uffizi, and the *Portrait of Francesco I* in the Stibbert Museum, Florence, both of which can be dated as late as 1570.

The two remaining Italian paintings in the collection are characteristic works of Giovanni Paolo Pannini.²⁷ Their identical proportions and similar themes leave no room for doubt that they were painted as companion pieces. Like most of Pannini's work they are imaginative compositions made up of whimsical arrangements of ruined buildings and fragments of architectural members, inspired by monuments that he saw in Rome. Although they lack the imposing quality and breadth of execution one finds in such pictures as the *Interior of the Pantheon* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, or *Italian Ruins*, owned by the William Rockhill Nelson Art Museum at Kansas City, they have the eighteenth century's decorative beauty both in arrangement and color.



Fig. 7. BERNARDINO LUINI, *Portrait of a Lady*
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College



Fig. 6. AGNOLO BRONZINO
Portrait of a Lady ("Bianca Cappello")
Muncie, Ball State Teachers College



*Fig. 9. ANDREA DEL SARTO, Portrait of a Lady
Mancie, Ball State Teachers College*



*Fig. 8. TITIAN, Portrait of a Cavalier
Mancie, Ball State Teachers College*

¹ Tempera on panel. H. 43; W. 24½ in. Dr. George M. Richter in a conversation with the writer dated it later than I do, about 1390 to 1400.

² Reproduced in R. Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1924, III, p. 521.

³ Tempera on panel. Left panel H. 10; W. 7½ in.; right panel H. 10½; W. 7¾ in. From a convent in Florence. Attributed by Richter to Zanobi Strozzi.

⁴ Tempera on panel. H. 45½; W. 19½ in. Formerly in a Russian collection.

⁵ Corrado Ricci, *Pintoricchio*, London, 1902, p. 101; R. Van Marle, *op. cit.* 1933, XIV, p. 230; Evelyn March Phillipps, *Pintoricchio*, London, 1901, p. 70.

⁶ Reproduced, with a drawing in Turin by Leonardo da Vinci that perhaps represents Cesare Borgia, by W. R. Valentiner, *The Art Bulletin*, XII (1930), pp. 60n, 84, 89.

⁷ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, London, 1912-14, IV, p. 17.

⁸ Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, London, 1914, V, p. 391.

⁹ Tempera on panel. H. 17¾; W. 12¾ in. Richter attributes this to Piero di Cosino, connecting it with the portraits in the *Passage of the Red Sea* in the Sistine Chapel, and specifically with one of the women in the Orsini group. If he is correct, the sitter might be a member of the Orsini family and the date of execution would be 1483 or 1484.

¹⁰ A color reproduction of this painting in *Apollo*, XI (1930), does not show the dagger.

¹¹ George F. Hill, *Gustave Dreyfus Collection, Renaissance Medals*, Oxford, 1931, Nos. 78 and 79.

¹² *The Art Quarterly*, II, (1939), pp. 233-249.

¹³ Oil on canvas. H. 17½; W. 13¾ in.

¹⁴ Adolfo Venturi, "An Unfinished Portrait by Bernardino Luini", *Burlington Magazine*, LVII (1930), pp. 121-122.

¹⁵ G. C. Williamson, *Bernardino Luini*, London, 1907, p. 66.

¹⁶ Oil on panel. H. 24; W. 19¼ in. Formerly in the Baron Lazzaroni collection, Paris. Exhibited in the Detroit Institute of Arts, *Exhibition of Italian Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Paintings*, 1933, No. 33.

¹⁷ R. Van Marle, *op. cit.*, 1924, III, p. 275.

¹⁸ Oil on panel. H. 35; W. 26 in. Formerly owned by the Marchesi Gerini, Florence.

¹⁹ George M. Richter, "An Early Portrait by Andrea del Sarto", *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII (1938), pp. 191-193.

²⁰ *New York World's Fair Exhibition*, 1939, No. 2.

²¹ Oil on panel. H. 28; W. 23½ in.

²² George Gronau, "An Unknown Portrait by Andrea del Sarto", *Burlington Magazine*, LXXIII (1938), pp. 22-27.

²³ Oil on canvas. H. 39¾; W. 30¼ in. Formerly in the Bardini collection, Florence.

²⁴ W. Suida, "New Light on Titian's Portraits", *Burlington Magazine*, LXIV (1934), p. 272. Suida also included it in his book, *Le Titien*, Paris, 1935, pl. 316.

²⁵ Oil on panel. Diameter of panel 7¼ inches; diameter of painting 6 inches.

²⁶ Arthur McComb, *Agnolo Bronzino*, Cambridge, 1928, pl. 55.

²⁷ Oil on canvas. H. 26; W. 20 in. each.

JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE

By W. R. VALENTINER

I

MARINE painting, like portrait painting, has its origin as much in practical as in aesthetic aims. The earliest representations of ships in engravings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are portraits of individual vessels ordered by the owners, or designed to give to the interested public an idea of the different types of ships. The earliest marine paintings depict historical events at sea which were of importance to the nation. When famous Dutch sea painters, like Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom at the beginning of the seventeenth century, or the two Willem van de Velde's in the second half of this century, were asked to come to England, it was not so much on account of their art but because of their ability to depict, to order and with historical accuracy, the naval engagements of the past. And these artists devoted their art dispassionately first to the interests of their own country, later to those of their country's enemies, painting at one time the naval victories of the Dutch, at another those of the English during the wars between Holland and England.

Such historical representations were created by Dutch artists during the whole of the seventeenth century, which was the great epoch of marine painting, beginning with the panoramic scenes of the earlier masters and ending with the later pompous parade views. But there existed throughout the same period a group of sea painters who painted the sea and ships purely for the pleasure they took in this aspect of nature. The leading master of this type during the Frans Hals period was Jan Porcellis, an artist little known nowadays, whose excellent small pictures of stormy seas were in great demand among the most discriminating collectors of the seventeenth century, including Rubens and Rembrandt. The leading master during the Rembrandt period was Jan van de Cappelle. Midway in time and character between the two is the manysided Simon de Vlieger, from whose style developed Jan van de Cappelle and Willem van de Velde the Younger, the two masters who are generally considered the outstanding marine painters at the height of Dutch art.

In comparing the early development of these two artists, we are struck by the curious fact that their training seems to be in inverse ratio to their accomplishments. Willem van de Velde could not have had a better schooling. He was taught first by his father, Willem van de Velde the Elder, a well-established painter of historical marine painting and ship portraiture, then by Simon de



Fig. 1. JAN VAN DE CAPELLE, *A Cloudy Day on the Zuider Zee*
Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 2. SIMON DE Vlieger, *Men of War and Sailboats*
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

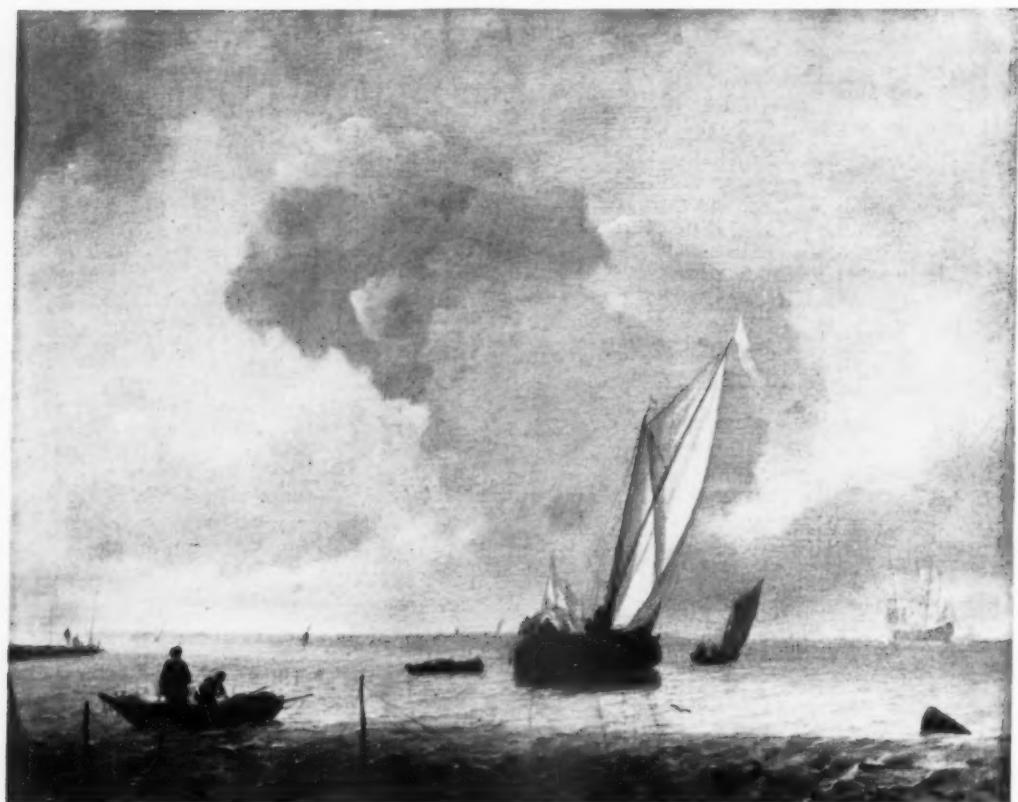


Fig. 3. JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE, *A Dutch Galiot*
London, National Gallery

Vlieger, who developed in him the more artistic faculties. From his early youth he was devoted to his craft and improved his abilities in a long and industrious life, during which he received many orders from the leading patrons of sea painting of his time.

Jan van de Cappelle, on the other hand, was not a painter by profession.¹ He is not even mentioned in Houbraken's contemporary history of Dutch painting. He was a business man and had to devote most of his time to a flourishing dye business which he inherited from his father and left to his two sons in the best of order. A friend of his, Rembrandt's pupil Van den Eeckhout, says that Jan van de Cappelle was self-taught. This should not be taken too literally, as he was a friend of Rembrandt and of Simon de Vlieger, whose advice he could have had whenever needed. But all we know for certain is that in his inventory are mentioned a number of copies he executed after paintings by Simon de Vlieger. This seems to have been the only training he had, and from our modern point of view it would have been the least beneficial one we could imagine.

But even so, he became the greatest of all marine painters in Holland. It is true that popular opinion gives this place to Willem van de Velde. His popularity is probably due to the great number of his carefully executed works—he painted about six hundred pictures to the one hundred by Van de Cappelle—as well as to the dramatic character of well-known pictures like the *Cannonshot* in Amsterdam, or the *Disembarkation of William III*, in the Wallace Collection. But judging only by their artistic merits, there can be no doubt that Jan van de Cappelle is the greater of the two. In his case it was obviously an advantage that he could afford to paint slowly, for pleasure only and not to order. He never produced such dry and academic performances as did Willem van de Velde at times in his later period, when he lived in England and had lost the contact with the artistic atmosphere in Holland. It is true, Van de Velde created some masterpieces, especially in paintings representing the calm sea (his phlegmatic temperament never allowed much success in "Stormy Seas") but he never reached the poetic conception or the complete freedom of technique of Jan van de Cappelle. Lionel Preston rightly says that the best English marine painters of a later epoch, like Bonington, Cotman and Turner, were influenced by the atmospheric visions of Jan van de Cappelle, whose works have been abundant in English collections since the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, he is poorly represented in American collections. The National Gallery in London alone owns more than twice as many marines as we find in public collec-

tions on this side of the ocean.

That Van de Cappelle as an amateur developed such high accomplishments was only possible in an epoch when all artistic endeavors had reached an unusually high level. He belonged to the third generation of a great century of art and inherited the technical abilities for which former generations had to strive with slow effort. He has in common with most of the other outstanding masters of his generations a precocious development and an early exhaustion of his strength. He died at the age of forty-five and seems to have abandoned painting a considerable time before his death.

Born in 1624, he appears to be a mature artist in his earliest dated paintings of 1649 and 1650. It is likely, therefore, that he produced paintings some time before these years, especially as we know of a freely executed drawing with a river view dated 1646 in the Berlin print room. As we shall see, there are some of his paintings in Simon de Vlieger's style which possibly can be dated as early as 1645-1649. From 1650 we can follow his development step by step until the second half of the fifties. There are, however, only a very few paintings dated after the middle of the fifties, the last known being of 1665. From a document we learn that in 1666 Van de Cappelle was sick and made his will. Whether this was the reason for the falling off of his production, whether he was too much occupied with his business, or whether what must have been the ultimate reason, he was sensitive to the general decline of art in Holland at this time, he seems in any case to have painted little after the end of the great epoch in Dutch art which coincided with Rembrandt's death. Jan van de Cappelle died in 1679, leaving a widow and several children, four boys and three girls, all of whom inherited a considerable fortune. His best epoch is, thus, the same in which the greatest masters of his time, Frans Hals, Rembrandt and Vermeer, produced their greatest works (1645-1665).

How much he owed to Simon de Vlieger is proved by comparison of some of his works with those of the older artist. Two paintings by Jan van de Cappelle, one in the National Gallery in London (Fig. 3), the other recently acquired by the Detroit Institute of Arts (as a gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb)² (Fig. 1), obviously early works, show compositions somewhat similar to the well-known marine by Simon de Vlieger at Amsterdam, a painting in the gray, silvery tone of the period of about 1638-40 (Fig. 2). The main motive in the two paintings by Van de Cappelle, the placing of the ships one behind the other in a straight diagonal line toward the depth on a wide expanse of ruffled water, is obviously suggested by De Vlieger's composition.

It is unimportant that the ships move in opposite directions in the earlier painting, but it is essential that the movement starts in the corner, while in Van de Cappelle's paintings it starts near the center. The *repoussoir* idea of earlier periods in which the compositions moved from the foreground corners to the distance in the center, is still alive in De Vlieger. Also the dark stripe in the foreground, characteristic of all compositions of Simon de Vlieger, from which the scene starts as behind the lamplights of a stage, is a requisite of earlier masters. It is used by Van de Cappelle in the earlier of these paintings in London.

In Van de Cappelle's composition in Detroit (Fig. 1) the movement is from the center toward the depth, leaving the corners bare, a striking change in the conception which gives the eye one leading point instead of two for its wandering into the distance. In comparison, De Vlieger's composition appears disconnected, as there is a wide open space between the chain of ships leading from the right corner to the distance and the solitary ship which marks the depth in the left corner. In Van de Cappelle's picture the depth movement has the shape of a V starting from the angle of the letter and opens out in two connected lines, the main movement to the right, to the left the secondary movement, leading from the standing figure in the nearby boat to the sailboat in the distance. Elements which stress the depth, such as foreshortening and overlapping of planes (notice for instance the foreshortened slack sail of the boat in front, whose flag cuts over the sail of the boat behind) are employed with more skill than in De Vlieger's case.

One other point is essential in the comparison. In De Vlieger's composition the clouds seem to move in the same direction as the ships, while in Van de Cappelle's examples they move in opposite direction. In this respect also, the London painting appears to be less advanced than the one in Detroit where a dramatic effect is created by the pronounced counter movement of ships and clouds. While the outlines of the ships are pushed vigorously toward the depth, the clouds on the horizon reverse the movement, bringing it back to the foreground at the upper border of the picture.

The increase of plastic values developed by the concentrated depth movement in Van de Cappelle's case probably was a result of the influence of Rembrandt, but it is also a general characteristic of the last phase of Dutch painting, the High Baroque. The color scheme of the Detroit painting, the warm brown tone in which the boat in the foreground is enveloped in contrast to the light ivory-colored sail, and details such as the deep red costume of the

standing man wearing a Rembrandt hat, prove clearly that Van de Cappelle was deeply impressed by the great master.

The museum in The Hague has received in recent years, as a gift of Mr. Ten Cate, a beach scene by Jan van de Cappelle (Fig. 5) which invites a comparison with a beach scene by De Vlieger in the same collection, one of his best works dated 1643 (Fig. 4). Both artists use here a compositional scheme of the generation of Jan Porcellis; a strip of land with figures occupying one corner of the painting forms a *repoussoir* in the foreground. But while De Vlieger isolates the scene and develops the space toward the depth in parallel lines, Van de Cappelle connects the lines of the shore in a continuous curve toward the distance. The land seems to embrace the sea like the border of a bowl; the shadow upon the sea completes this curve on the right side of the composition. The waves do not run parallel to the horizon as in De Vlieger's painting, but in diagonal lines. The convex shape of the space created by land and sea is repeated in the mass of clouds built up like a majestic vault above the earth. De Vlieger's composition, compared to Van de Cappelle's, appears flat in spite of its beautiful distant view and the fine gradations of a silvery sky; and although only a few years separate the two paintings, the former still belongs to the period of the Early Baroque, the latter is a masterpiece of the High Baroque.

If the three paintings by Jan van de Cappelle described here are early works, as it is natural to assume, they should be dated about 1645-1649. They would belong to a stage previous to the earliest dated works we know, 1649, 1650 and 1651, works which present a more complicated system of composition showing the personal style of the artist developed to a higher degree. It must be remembered, however, that it is precarious to construct an artist's development upon the slender base of no more than half a dozen dated paintings.

In the first dated paintings we still follow a development parallel to De Vlieger's, so much so that a close personal connection between the two artists in these years seems likely. Both painters create, at the same time, a special form characteristic of the later phase of Dutch sea paintings represented by Willem van de Velde the Younger, Aelbert Cuyp, Dubbels, Backhuysen and others: the "parade" marines in which many different types of vessel lined up in long rows upon a calm sea as if in a naval ceremony. Van de Cappelle takes, in this instance also, some compositional suggestions from De Vlieger, but develops his own, more concentrated, more plastic and at the same time more atmospheric style.

This first dated painting, the *Mouth of a River, at Stockholm* (1649)



Fig. 4. SIMON DE Vlieger, *The Coast at Scheveningen*
The Hague, Mauritshuis

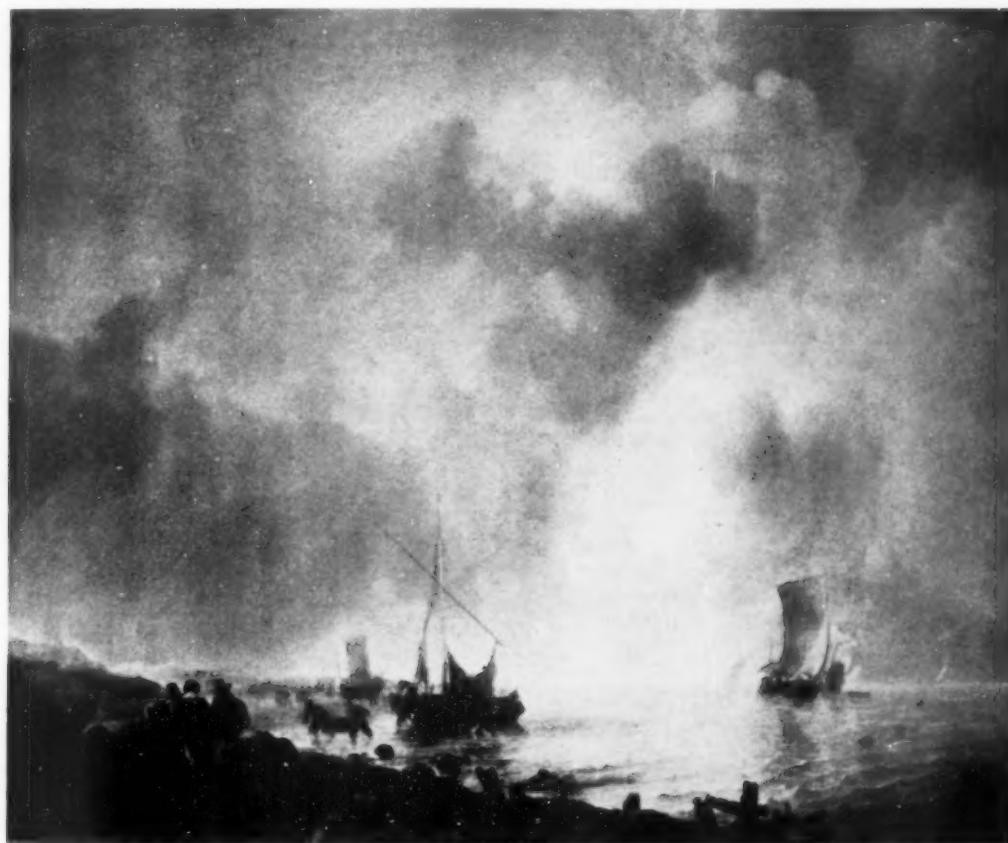
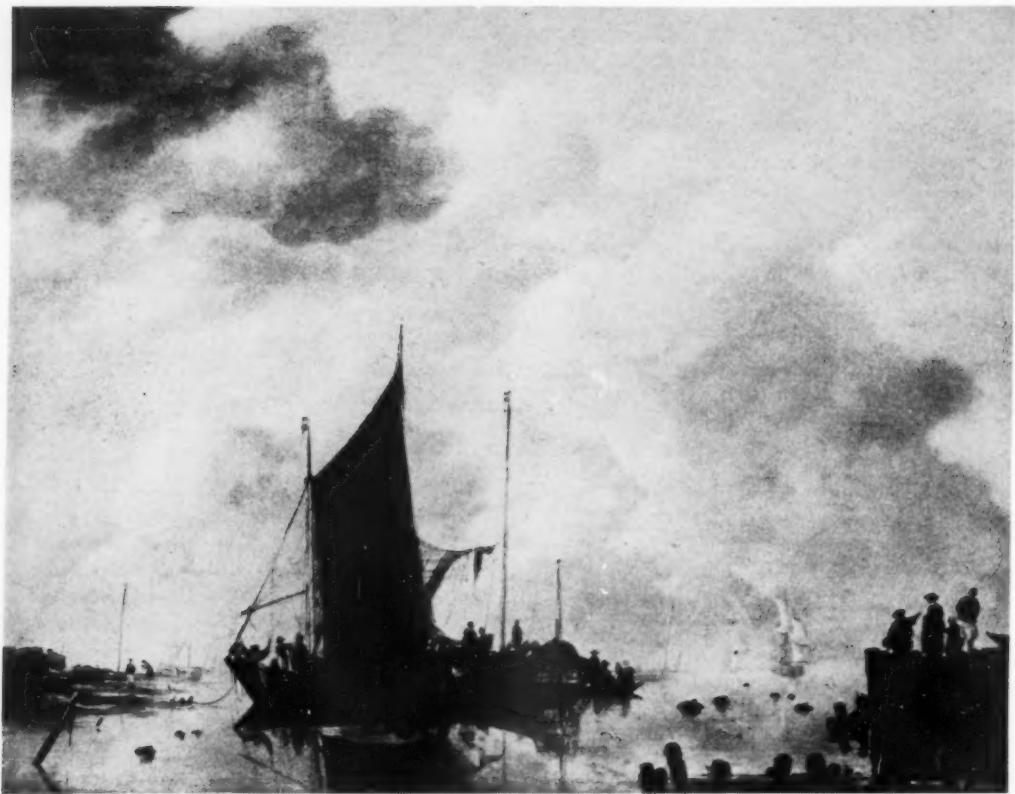


Fig. 5. JAN VAN DE CAPELLE, *Coast Scene*
The Hague, Mauritshuis



*Fig. 6. JAN VAN DE CAPELLE, The Mouth of a River
Stockholm, National Museum*



*Fig. 7. SIMON DE VLEIGER, Calm Sea
Detroit Institute of Arts*

(Fig. 6), shows the essential elements of his new compositional construction. It is true, there is still a *repoussoir* in one corner, a jetty with figures such as we find frequently in De Vlieger's paintings. But if we compare the composition with one by the older artist where this motive occurs, for instance with the fine painting in the Detroit Museum of the year 1642 (Fig. 7) we realize at once the difference in the construction of the two paintings. De Vlieger places the accents upon the corner, Van de Cappelle upon the center of the picture. Although the group of sailboats in the Stockholm painting is not as close to the spectator as the jetty, it attracts one's attention first and leads the eye into two lanes, to the right and left of the sailboats, into the farthest distance. This centralized composition with two avenues leading towards the depth from the central foreground is a scheme employed frequently by Jan van de Cappelle in the future.

In the same year, 1649, De Vlieger executed his first known *parade marine*, the often reproduced painting at Vienna (Fig. 9), and probably at the same time the similar picture at Budapest, which is not dated. Both paintings belong to his latest phase, and show him venturing into a new field which was to become the special domain of Van de Cappelle.

How much the younger artist was influenced by the older, how much the older by the younger it is difficult to decide. The likelihood is that both arrived at the same conclusion at the same moment, as usually happens in periods of ultimate developments when artists from all sides strive toward a similar goal. Van de Cappelle's first two dated *parade* paintings are of the year 1650, one in London (Fig. 11), the other in Amsterdam, the latter long believed to be by De Vlieger whose false signature it bears. They show such perfect composition and are so free in execution that one would expect them to be preceded by examples of similar motives but of less developed forms.

Whether the painting in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, (Fig. 8) may be of this preparatory type or whether it is later, it is in any case closely related to De Vlieger's composition in Vienna with which it should be compared. In Van de Cappelle's picture any connection with land in the foreground, like the small strip with wood piles in De Vlieger's painting, is left out. The state barge, of which the outlines seem almost copied from De Vlieger, is moved from the left side exactly into the center, and is connected closely with a group of sailboats and the two ferry boats, which lead the eye gradually from foreground to middle ground and give, with their clear horizontal lines, calmness to the composition. De Vlieger's design, with the many open spaces

between the boats, seems confused compared to Van de Cappelle's. We also here observe the two lanes which lead almost symmetrically right and left into the distance from the center group; while De Vlieger has only one such lane, leading toward the depth somewhat off center to the right. Van de Cappelle's avenues are, besides, much deeper; the ships bordering them are placed in a more compact order and foreshortenings stress the depth values more than in the other composition.

This tendency to build up the composition from a central point is still more obvious in the beautiful *River Scene with State Barge* in London, of the year 1650 (Fig. 11), one of the masterpieces of Van de Cappelle. The central group, consisting of several boats with very high sails and two ferry boats (the general outlines having the shape of a tail-winged butterfly) is symmetrically arranged and leads our eyes beyond the two ferry boats into the two lanes to the right and left. There are no more *repoussoirs* in the corners; the ferries are no longer connected with the border of the picture, as in the Metropolitan Museum's composition; besides, the clouds along the three sides of the painting are so pronounced in their rolling movement that we feel their movement goes on indefinitely beyond the frame of the painting.

Similar centralized compositions, which seem to break with the scheme generally applied in the sixteenth and seventeenth century realistic art, can be found occasionally in the paintings of other Dutch masters during this period. We may mention some genre scenes by Nicolaes Maes painted toward the middle of the fifties, one reproduced here (Fig. 10), one in the Wallace Collection, and another formerly in the Six collection, in which a figure placed near a pillar forms the focal point in the center, dividing the composition into two sections. As in Van de Cappelle's compositions, two lanes run to the right and left from the center motive toward the farthest distance, the chiaroscuro, under Rembrandt's influence, playing a greater part in these interiors than in the open air marine paintings. If we compare this genre scene with the Detroit marine (Fig. 1), we find a similar V shaped construction in depth with one side of the V leading more directly toward the depth than the other.

While Jan van de Cappelle employed his new scheme frequently in the future, it rarely occurs without a compromise with the older *repoussoir* idea. In the next two dated paintings of the year 1651, one in the Chicago Art Institute (Fig. 12), the other formerly in the hands of M. Colnaghi in London (Hofstede de Groot no. 116), a jetty protruding from the left behind a strip of shore and piles occupies a considerable part of the picture; a group of



Fig. 8. JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE, *The Maas near Dordrecht*
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



Fig. 9. SIMON DE VLEIGER, *Naval Ceremony*
Vienna, Staatsgalerie



Fig. 10. NICOLAES MAES, *Girl at the Pump*
London, Lord Swaythling



Fig. 11. JAN VAN DE CAPELLE, *River Scene with State Barge*
London, National Gallery

sailboats marks the middle distance to the right. A centralizing tendency is, however, not lacking and differentiates it again from similar compositions of De Vlieger. The central foreground in both paintings is taken up by two fishermen standing in the water and silhouetted against a sky whose luminosity is increased at the center of the painting.

This type of composition reached its height about the middle of the fifties in paintings like the one of the Cologne Museum from the Carstanjen collection (Fig. 13). It is one of the artist's most famous pictures. He tried here for the first time in Dutch art to paint the sun itself, which appears, slightly covered by mist and reflected in the water, in the center of the painting behind the dark outline of a nearby fisherman. In paintings of this order the artist replaces the centralized linear construction by a central light effect which, of course, cannot be judged so well in black and white reproductions.

A similar atmospheric vision in the center of the painting appears usually in the compositions in which a single central avenue of ships leads into the far distance, as in the painting from the Ten Cate collection which was exhibited in the New York World's Fair of 1939. While this perspective arrangement does not differ much from the traditional scheme, (although its adaptation is always less obvious than in earlier paintings) the luminosity in the center of the sky and the diffusion of the light towards and beyond the borders gives the pictures of this type a cosmic quality that places them outside the realistic art of the time.

These centralizing elements and an occasional dissolving of the borders through cloud and light movements are symptoms of special interest to those who trace the modern tendencies in art back to earlier periods.³ It presages such compositions of our time, in which the connection with the ground upon which the spectator stands is given up, and the stage setting of earlier periods, formed by side wings and a receding center, is abandoned in favor of centralized motives freely suspended in the air. It is not by chance that this modern idea, based upon a strong belief in our relation to the cosmos, should appear in its initial stage in paintings of the realistic age of the type of Jan van de Cappelle's. The sea painter, if anyone, while studying the wide expanses of water and sky and their constantly changing conditions, had to become aware of the importance of atmospheric influences upon the inhabitants of the earth. These visionary elements which connect Van de Cappelle's art with that of the late Rembrandt are those which now-a-days attract us most in his work.

It may seem surprising that Van de Cappelle painted a number of fascinating

winter landscapes, scenes of frozen canals with houses and trees covered with snow, in addition to the marines that make up his main interest. But it is not accidental that they appear in his work just when he was most occupied with the study of the atmospheric influence upon sea and ships. Several of these winter scenes are dated 1652 and 1653. In these compositions the earth is completely subdued, as at no other time of the year, by the moist air which has been transformed into snow and ice. The atmosphere then, rules not only over free nature but also over the works of men and gives their forms an abstract appearance such as we have also observed in Van de Cappelle's sea-views seen under a sky of strong atmospheric movement. It is the same unconscious tendency towards an abstract style in the marines and the winter scenes, a tendency which was to lead centuries later to the abstract sea paintings by Feininger and Lurçat.

II.

Posterity judges the activity of men in a different way from the present. Contemporaries are mostly interested in the social standing of a man within his community, although his attainments in this respect are seldom sufficient to keep his memory alive. But sometimes a later period discovers that he possessed, besides, qualities of a less ephemeral kind which were little appreciated by those who surrounded him, but which contained the seed for a fruitful continuation of his life in history.

Jan van de Cappelle was to his contemporaries mainly the wealthy manufacturer who owned a large company, a considerable amount of real estate, some city houses, a country seat, and a yacht. But all this is long forgotten. What is left are the paintings which he created during his hours of leisure. But one thing more keeps his memory alive, his fame as one of the greatest art collectors of earlier times.

His collection of about two hundred paintings and six thousand drawings was, in proportion for his time, what the collections of Widener, Mellon and Frick are for us today. That most of the contemporary masters who were represented in his collections are still considered the greatest of his period, is proof of his excellent judgment. He included not only the artists of his own country but also those of Flanders. Thus he owned seven paintings by Frans Hals, six by Rembrandt, four by Rubens, six by Van Dyck. To give an idea of the variety of types he selected from the work of these masters, we mention that the works by Rembrandt consisted of two large portraits, a landscape, a religious paint-



Fig. 12. JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE, *The Calm*
Chicago, Art Institute



Fig. 13. JAN VAN DE CAPPELLE, *Sunset*
Cologne, Museum



*Fig. 14. REMBRANDT, *Portrait of an Artist*, here identified as Jan Van de Cappelle
New York, Frick Collection*

ing, a study of an old man, one of a girl, and a great number of drawings besides, of which I shall speak later. His selection of earlier masters also shows exceptional taste. Of German masters he owned a portrait by Holbein, a mythological painting by Dürer, and of Elsheimer, whose art was so important an influence upon the Netherlandish landscape painters, one of his best paintings, *Philemon and Baucis*, now in the Dresden Gallery. It was undoubtedly this composition, which Rembrandt must have seen, that inspired him to do the same subject in the painting now in the Widener Collection.⁴

Among the earlier Dutch and Flemish masters are several whose exceptional qualities have been rediscovered only in recent times: Buitewech, of whom he owned two paintings and many drawings; Hercules Seghers, who was represented by no less than five of his rare landscapes; Jan Lys, who is known in our country only by one large composition, formerly attributed to Velasquez, in the Widener Collection. For Adriaen Brouwer he had the same predilection as did Rubens and Rembrandt; all owned a number of his works.

It is natural that he should have possessed a considerable number of paintings by artists who were his predecessors as marine or landscape painters. But also here we find only painters of outstanding abilities: Jan Porcellis, Simon de Vlieger, Hendrick Avercamp, Esaias van de Velde, Jan van Goyen, Cornelis Vroom, Philips Koninck.

In one instance only, we can see him following a fashion of his time which we do not quite understand, in collecting paintings by the Dutch and Flemish painters under Italian influence of the second half of the sixteenth century, those mannerists to whom now-a-days only rarely the doors of the museums, and never those of the great private collections, are opened. But as other collectors of rare judgment in Jan van de Cappelle's time, masters like Rubens, Rembrandt and even Frans Hals (who acquired on borrowed money in his old age, while poor and in debt, several paintings by Heemskerk), were as much interested in them as he, we may ask ourselves whether it is not our fault if we are critical of their qualities. Those represented in Van de Cappelle's collections are: Frans Floris, Martin Heemskerk, Hendrick Goltzius, Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beukelaer, while of the generation following them we encounter David Vinckboons, Govert Jansz and Jan Pynas.

More remarkable perhaps even than his collection of paintings must have been his collection of drawings. It contained hundreds of drawings by "the best Italian masters" whose names are, unfortunately, not given in the inventory. That the collection must have been good, we may judge from the choice

of Dutch drawings. Van de Cappelle owned more drawings by Rembrandt than have ever been together in one hand: fifty-six sketches with historical subjects; two lots of landscape drawings, one containing eighty-nine, the other one hundred and eighty-eight pieces; one hundred and thirty-five drawings representing the life of woman with children. This series, which came probably from the sale of Rembrandt's belongings, can be partly reconstructed from drawings representing scenes from the family life of Rembrandt, now preserved in different private and public collections. Finally there is a lot containing forty-eight drawings of Rembrandt and Jan Pynas.

More than one hundred drawings are described in the inventory by each of the following three artists: Elsheimer, Buitewech, and Esaias van de Velde. But most astonishing is that he owned by Van Goyen four hundred drawings, by Avercamp nine hundred, and by Simon de Vlieger thirteen hundred and fifty! —who, indeed, belonged among the most interesting draughtsmen of the Dutch school. Only one sixteenth century Dutch artist is mentioned by name—Jan Swart van Groningen. A series of drawings now in the British Museum may be part of the twenty-five drawings of the Van de Cappelle collection.

If we compare the taste of Van de Cappelle expressed in the choice of artists to be represented in his collection with that of Rubens and Rembrandt as shown in their collections, we find little divergence of opinion. It is curious that all three collectors exclude a group of artists who would not be omitted today in a representative collection of paintings of their period. That is the genre painters of the middle class and of the society: Terborch, Metsu, Pieter de Hooch, Vermeer, Mieris, Teniers, Jan Steen, the Ostade's and the painters of social scenes from the school of Frans and Dirck Hals. It is true, most of these belong to a period after Rubens, who, however, collected no paintings by the smaller Flemish genre painters of his time. But certainly Rembrandt or Van de Cappelle must have known these masters well, who came into vogue during the height of their career. It can easily be understood why the great artists did not care for the art of these genre painters whom they must have thought of as lacking in imagination, in breadth of conception and in freedom of execution. But it is well to remember also, that the art loving public which Van de Cappelle represented in his capacity as collector drew a clear line between Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Rubens, and their predecessors and followers on one side, and on the other those artists who expressed a new fashion by an intimate style more pleasing to the bourgeois and reminiscent of French elegance and smoothness of technique.

Hundreds of drawings from Jan van de Cappelle's own hand mentioned in his inventory seem to have disappeared almost entirely. Mellaert⁵ writes: "So far as is known there is no authentic drawing by him representing a sea piece, though there is one attributed to him in the Boymans Museum (Rotterdam) and also an ice scene in the Teyler Museum (Haarlem). There is, however, the drawing in the Berlin print room mentioned above, representing a river scene and signed and dated 1646; also a number of signed ice scenes are known, among them the one in the Hegblocq Album in The Hague.

From the inventory we learn that Jan van de Cappelle had his own portrait painted by Frans Hals, Rembrandt and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, the friend and close pupil of Rembrandt. There is mentioned besides, a portrait drawing of Van de Cappelle by Jan van Noordt, an excellent Amsterdam artist who was influenced by Rembrandt as well as by the Flemish painters and especially by Rubens.

We know of hardly another case in which the same person's portrait was painted both by Frans Hals and by Rembrandt, two masters having a different clientele and living in different cities.⁶ It speaks for the excellent taste and perhaps for the generosity of Van de Cappelle that he as a young rich man employed both masters at a time when they needed orders and were no longer as fashionable as in former days. For as he was born in 1624, the portraits must belong to the later periods of these great masters. It would be interesting if they could be traced, not only because we would like to know how Van de Cappelle looked, but also because we could form an opinion of how the same model was conceived by temperaments so different as Frans Hals and Rembrandt.

Unfortunately, we know of no likeness by Van de Cappelle which could serve as a guide in identifying these portraits. There is only one way to trace them: to find among the many anonymous models who sat to Frans Hals, Rembrandt and the two other artists, one which has been painted by all of them. I believe I have found this model, who fits the age of our artist and the appearance we would expect of him knowing the history of his life and his character.

The portrait by Rembrandt of Jan van de Cappelle is, I believe, the portrait of a young painter in the Frick Collection (Fig. 14). I must correct myself in this instance because, while writing on Karel Fabritius, I mentioned the possibility that he might be the one represented here. I now find that my former opinion, expressed more than once years ago, was probably correct, when I believed the young man to be Jan van de Cappelle. As the portrait has all the appearance of being painted to order, it seems unlikely that Karel Fabritius,

who was in debt most of the time, could have ordered it since he would have had to pay about 200-250 guilders according to the prices Rembrandt charged at this time. Jan van de Cappelle seems to have been the only one among Rembrandt's artist friends who could have afforded it. The costume with the brocaded waistcoat and the elaborately decorated hat, as well as the attitude of the sitter, speaks for a man of means. His age would fit that of Van de Cappelle, who was twenty-four when the portrait was painted (it is dated 1648, the last cipher not certain).

The person represented seems to be the same whom Frans Hals, about two years later, painted in the portrait of the Stettenheim collection in New York (Fig. 15), and we see again the same in a portrait drawing by Van den Eeckhout, dated 1652 (Fig. 18). This drawing is probably the study for the lost portrait which Van den Eeckhout painted of Jan van de Cappelle. I do not think that there can be much doubt that the Frans Hals and the Van den Eeckhout model represent the same person (Figs. 15 and 18). It is true, in the Frans Hals portrait he looks more optimistic and active than in the dull drawing of Van den Eeckhout, a variation in expression probably caused more by the temperament of the artists who executed the portraits than of the sitter. The proportions of the features are very similar. The eyes stand rather far apart and are surrounded by heavy lids; the nose, globular at the end, is broad; the lips are strangely curved; the chin is energetic; small mustache, chin tuft and hair are worn in the same manner. In both instances the attitude is again one of a well-to-do, comfortably living burgher who seems to combine practical sense and broadmindedness.

If we accept the identity of the sitter in the painting by Frans Hals and in Van den Eeckhout's drawing, this is almost sufficient as proof that we have before us a portrait of Van de Cappelle, because only a person of unusual taste would have chosen to order portraits from two artists of such divergent character. If he selected Van den Eeckhout, a mediocre painter compared to Rembrandt and Frans Hals, the reason must have been a personal one. Van den Eeckhout was a great admirer of Van de Cappelle, as we learn from a couplet he composed on a sketch by him.

But I believe we can also accept the identity of the sitter in those two portraits with that of Rembrandt's painting in the Frick Collection. Again we observe similar characteristics: the eyes far apart covered by dark eyebrows, the nose broad, the chin high and forceful. These features of a man of the world and of a person of practical mind are enveloped by Rembrandt's chiaroscuro, creat-



Fig. 16. JAN VAN NOORDT
Portrait Drawing, here identified as *Jan van de Cappelle*
Formerly Amsterdam Art Market



Fig. 15. FRANS HALS, *Portrait of a Young Man*,
here identified as *Jan van de Cappelle*
New York, I. M. Stettinius Collection



Fig. 18. GERBRAND VAN DEN EECKHOUT
Portrait Drawing, here identified as *Jan van de Capelle*



Fig. 17. FRANS HALS, Detail of Figure 15

ing an atmosphere of poetry and imagination. Rembrandt shows more of the artist in Jan van de Cappelle than did the other two portrait painters, giving him an observing attitude and mysterious eyes. It was Rembrandt's great gift to bring out the eternal qualities in his models.

It is less certain, but also of less importance, whether Van de Cappelle should be recognized in a portrait drawing by Jan van Noordt which appeared in an Amsterdam sale in 1912 (Fig. 16). If this is the case, the elaborate design would be identical with the one mentioned in Van de Cappelle's inventory. Eyes, mouth and chin of the person represented are similar to the model of the Frans Hals portrait, but the nose seems slightly longer and less heavy than in the other portraits. The costume is again most fashionable, the hat lying on the table similar to the one in the Frick portrait. In date this portrait drawing would stand between the portrait by Frans Hals and that by Van den Eeckhout.

The portraits of Jan van de Cappelle, if we are right in our identification, were all executed in the years between 1648 and 1652. Although he produced many masterpieces after this period, these happen to be his most creative years when, as we have seen, he formed his style and invented his new compositional scheme.

¹ The essentials for the study of the artist are the documents on his life published by A. Bredius, *Oud Holland*, X, 1892, and the catalogue raisonné of his works by Hofstede de Groot, *Catalogue of Dutch Painters*, VII, 1932, which, however, needs a revision especially in regard to dated paintings. See also E. W. Moes in Thieme-Becker; W. Martin, *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst*, II, 1936, and the books on marine painting by Fred Willis, *Niederländische Marine Malerei* (no date) and Lionel Preston, *Sea and River Paintings in the Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century*, 1938.—An attempt to describe the development of the artist has not been made thus far, and his importance, especially in our country, is not sufficiently appreciated, although there are more paintings by him in America than are listed in Hofstede de Groot. He mentions only one marine painting (in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia) and one winter scene (formerly in the Widener Collection, Philadelphia). The following paintings by the artist are now in this country: Chicago, Art Institute, *A Calm Sea* (formerly Prince Demidoff Collection, H. d. G. 110); Detroit Institute of Arts, *A Cloudy Day on the Zuyder Zee*; Detroit, Mr. and Mrs. Leo Butzel, *Winter Scene* (formerly Huldschinsky Collection, H. d. G. 143); New York, Metropolitan Museum, *A River Scene* (formerly E. H. Griffith Collection, H. d. G. 45); New York, Art Market, *Winter Scene* (formerly Widener Collection, H. d. G. 157); New York, Art Market, *Calm Sea with Many Ships* (signed with monogram, H. 6'6; W. 4'8 in.); Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, *Calm on a River* (formerly Bischoffsheim Collection, 1926, H. 41 $\frac{1}{2}$; W. 20 in.); Philadelphia Museum of Art, *A River Mouth in a Calm* (formerly Johnson Collection, H. d. G. 66).

The paintings attributed to Jan van de Cappelle in the R. H. Booth Collection in Detroit (H. d. G. 56) and in the Frick Collection, New York, *View of the Maas at Rotterdam with Shipping*, are not by the artist. The latter has been attributed by Hofstede de Groot in his *Cat. Rais.*, VII, 161, and in Thieme-Becker and by W. Martin, *De Hollandsche Schilderkunst*, II, 519, to Jacob de Gruyter, a follower of Cuyp, active 1663-1681. The painting formerly in the Widener Collection (H. d. G. 127), appears to be a copy after the painting formerly in the possession of M. H. Colnaghi (H. d. G. 116).

² This is an unrecorded picture. Canvas: H. 25; W. 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; signed in the center foreground *J. V. Capelle*. Acc. No. 41.6. A smaller replica or copy is in the collection of the Marquess of Lansdowne (H. d. G. 129).

³ See *Art Quarterly*, IV (1941), pp. 210-238.

⁴ An illuminating essay by W. Stechow, "The Myth of Philemon and Baucis in Art", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, Nos. 1-2, appeared while the present article was being printed.

⁵ J. H. J. Mellaert, *Dutch Drawings*, 1926, p. 12.

⁶ An exception is the portrait of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp, the main figure in Rembrandt's *Anatomical Lesson*, whose portrait by Frans Hals, dated 1644, is in the Six Collection, Amsterdam (*Klassiker der Kunst*, 1923, p. 218). The characterization of the sitter by the two masters is so different that H. de Groot questioned, unjustly, its identity.—There is moreover the probability of another artist being painted by Rembrandt and Frans Hals, Gerard de Lairesse, a painter whose art, imitating the fashionable French style, was a great success in his day. His well known portrait by Rembrandt, painted in 1665, is in the Koppel Collection, Zurich (Bredius-Schneider, 321). He is very likely also represented in the portrait of a young man by Frans Hals, in the Carl Mandl Collection, Hamburg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, p. 273). The sitter of this portrait suffers from syphilis, to judge from the distorted shape of his nose and mouth. Lairesse was, as we know, syphilitic; his portrait by Rembrandt shows his illness in an advanced stage. Who else except he with his strange vanity would have had his likeness painted while suffering from the horrible disease? The proportions of the face in the Frans Hals portrait are not dissimilar to the face in the Rembrandt portrait. It should be dated a few years earlier, about 1660, when the artist was twenty years of age. His blindness in later years was obviously caused by this disease. It did not prevent him from publishing an academic treatise on art in which he attacked Rembrandt, who had painted of him one of the most wonderful and touching portraits.

OUR SUMMER RESORT ARCHITECTURE— AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON AND SOCIAL DOCUMENT *By ROGER HALE NEWTON*

THE summer resort architecture of the United States has yet to receive anything like the attention it deserves. Perhaps more than any other branch of architecture in America, it has been responsible for an entirely new vocabulary and tradition, which has no exact counterpart elsewhere.

The nineteenth century summer resort is in itself a phenomenon of American life, being the product of such diverse elements as romanticism, industrialism, urbanization, transportation and prosperity. After running its appointed course, this phenomenon eventually passed into a second state, that of the garden city or landscaped suburb, the metamorphosis being accomplished almost without our awareness. We today, in fact, have our mode of living so largely conditioned by suburbanism that it behooves us to study its evolution and destiny. It is necessary likewise to discuss the role of landscape design in the afore-mentioned metamorphosis, because under its auspices, it tentatively entered the field and developed and finally crystallized with the triumph of suburbanization at the turn of the twentieth century.

Although no discussion of this nineteenth century phenomenon yet appears in print, Talbot Faulkner Hamlin,¹ Librarian of the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, recently arranged a very significant exhibition of illustrative material entitled "A Century of Summer Architecture in the United States." This paper records some of the ideas resulting from that exhibition and I have drawn freely from the excellent labels prepared for it.

I. THE PIONEER SPIRIT

Any discussion of the summer resort in America properly opens with the early nineteenth century health resort. Although the custom of resorting to mineral springs had apparently become established here some time after the Revolution, their curative properties had been known and enjoyed by the Indians, who originally named them. But apparently, the fashion of taking the cure in the Continental manner did not take root here much before the first quarter of the new century, when Virginia Hot Springs, White Sulphur Springs, Ballston Spa, Richfield Springs, and Saratoga entered upon their long

and decorous careers. At that time, the phenomenon of the large wooden resort hotel, surrounded by the ubiquitous verandah, entered the picture to stay. Around it we may say, by 1830, a characteristically American mode of summer resort life was evolving, and, thanks to the romantic movement, received a new orientation involving more emphasis upon out-of-door exercise and recreation than was the case at Bath, Brighton, Aix, or Wiesbaden, where a more sedentary routine generally prevailed.

In fact, the basic idea of the health and summer resort in America received its initial impetus from our progressive intelligentsia who first responded to the romantic urge of contemporary arts and letters, and made their generation aware of the widening gap between modern city life and nature. These same literary and pictorial sources likewise began to dominate our painting, opening our eyes to the natural beauties along the Hudson River, in the Catskills of Rip Van Winkle, among the White and the Appalachian Mountains, and along our surf-beaten shores. On a humbler scale too, the sentimental lithographs published in such quantities by the indefatigable Currier and Ives helped enormously to accentuate the widening gulf between rural and urban standards of living.

This quest for the picturesque in nature early led to the discovery of those favorite haunts so often frequented by our amateur naturalists, diarists, litterati, and painters. It was a period for taking long, explorative walking and carriage trips of several weeks' duration in order to satisfy a new curiosity about natural phenomena, and possibly, to escape the increasing tempo of our new industrial order.

Among others, Timothy Dwight, President of Yale, made such journeys through New England, recording them in his famous Diaries, as John James Audubon did through our trackless forests in search of specimens for his matchless studies of our native birds. Similarly, in the thirties, the young Frederick Law Olmsted of Hartford, who in time became our first great landscape architect, enjoyed tremendously the long vacation carriage trips through New England with his parents. Poets like Whittier and Longfellow composed their paeans in praise of bucolic life and idylls upon the fast-vanishing Red Man. The short-lived Andrew Jackson Downing, apostle of Repton in England, promulgated his views upon naturalistic landscape design, publishing his influential volumes before 1850. These pioneers in romanticism discovered the joys of breathing the salt air at Newport, along the rocky North Shore of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine, and along the sandy beaches of



*Fig. 1. ALONZO REED, TOWN, DAVIS & DAKIN, *Marine Pavilion, 1833*
Rockaway, L. I.*



*Fig. 2. Gracie's Summer Cottage
Horen's Hook, Manhattan*



*Fig. 3. Grand Union Hotel
Saratoga Springs, N. Y.*



*Fig. 4. RICHARD UPJOHN, "Kingscote," 1838
Bowery, Newport, R. I.*



*Fig. 5. "Fairbourne," 1853
Bellevue Avenue, Newport, R. I.*

Long Island and the Jersey shore. Thus the rugged beauty of mountain regions came to vie with the ceaseless lure of the changing tides.

II. ROMANTICISM, 1830-65

The earliest type of health and summer resort, judging from *Paradise Row* at White Sulphur Springs, usually consisted of a long frame structure flanked by a wooden verandah, serving as both passage and promenade. As these spas gained in popularity, more spacious lodgings sprang up, such as we see in the *Congress Hotel* at Saratoga, or the *Marine Pavilion*, Rockaway (Fig. 1), where the fully developed type appears in its Greek Revival form, with a monumental three-story colonnade stretching the length of an otherwise severe, barn-like structure. Around them centered a vivid life of sports, dancing, cards, and cure.

These spas established the pattern for all later hosteries at the new mountain and sea-side resorts, in spite of subsequent changes in fashion. With their long wooden verandahs they became a traditional American phenomenon, produced by our climatic conditions and rustic tastes (Fig. 2). The American verandah dates at least from the mid-eighteenth century, when town houses in Charleston, S. C., added such an appendage at each story. After the Revolution, even Mount Vernon had its long wooden colonnade.

In this form, the Greek Revival summer resort hotel developed to an advanced stage, crystallizing before the resort-cottage appeared. The farm-boarding-house sufficed for "city folk" where no hotel existed.

III. ECLECTISM, 1850 ONWARDS

Towards the mid-century, the vogue for eclectic² freedom in American architecture began to assert itself. The austere Greek revival merged with Italian Renaissance styles and produced a variation known here as the Italian bracketted-villa type. Upon this, such alien motifs as the Napoleon III mansard roof, inspired by the new Louvre, and a mixture of Greco-Roman ornament, called "Neo-Grec," set the Second Empire stamp of sophistication upon all types of structures. On the other hand, the equally popular Gothic revival of Pugin and Ruskin took to itself a curious hybrid cottage type (Fig. 4), inspired by Anglo-Bavarian-Swiss half-timber styles, in order to emphasize the romantic note of rusticity especially for resort purposes. Both main stylistic currents,

especially when rendered in wood, produced a new and typically American vernacular, wrongly called Victorian; as if the "Dear Queen" could have had anything to do with it all, 2000 miles away! At such places as Saratoga, where the racing season annually attracted huge crowds, these eclectic hostellries now began to achieve a new degree of magnitude and magnificence, culminating in the Grand Union (Fig. 3) and United States Hotels.

Henry James, acutely sensitive to the social milieu, had Daisy Miller begin her career of frustration in one of these palaces of pleasure. Up to the inevitable lofty verandahs of such hotels all over the east, there swept a stream of carriages, passing around a cast-iron fountain set among "carpet beds" (or *partères à la française*), set out with plants of contrasting foliage and brilliant cannas. Otherwise the hand of man restrained itself in favor of nature's subtler arrangements.

IV. NEWPORT: ANTE-BELLUM RUSTICITY

By the fifties, Newport had begun to achieve a certain identity not yet out of keeping with the general idea and philosophy behind the summer resort movement. It was an aristocratic, pre-Revolutionary town set in a rural economy. The average colonist merely erected a frame cottage in the current mode, not much unlike those of his farming neighbors, but nearer the sea or upon exposed elevations. A few affluent ones, to be sure, did erect fairly impressive villas in the Italian-Bracketted style (Fig. 5), but the general level of intended rusticity continued to flourish until well after the Civil War.

In "Society as I Have Found It,"³ Ward McAllister records some vivid impressions of ante-bellum Newport:

"It was the fashion then at Newport, to lease for the summer a farmer's house on the Island and not live in the town." McAllister, retiring with a comfortable fortune made in the California Gold Rush, established himself upon Bayside Farm and proceeded to inaugurate his famous al fresco picnics, and continues thus: "Newport was now (circa 1855) at its best. The most charming people of the country had formed a select little community there . . . and all were included in the gaieties and festivities. Those were the days that made Newport what it was then and is now, the most enjoyable and luxurious little island in America! The farmers on the island even seemed to catch the infection and . . . were as much interested in the success of our picnics and country dinners as we . . . ourselves. They threw open their houses to us and never heeded the invasion on a bright sunny day of a party of fifty people who took possession of their dining-room, in fact of their whole house, and frolicked in it to their hearts' content . . . The charm of the place then was the *simple way of entertaining*; there were

no large balls; *all the dining and dancing were done by daylight and in the country . . . These little parties were then and are now the stepping stones to our best New York Society.*"

A number of enterprising architects practising in the cities published excellent plan books illustrated with alluring lithographs as inspiration to the local builders who often erected these ante-bellum, rustic abodes. Those by William H. Ranlett, Samuel Sloan, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Henry Hudson Holly are typical. They provided the local carpenter with ready models well suited to inexpensive frame construction. Richard Upjohn's design in a modified Tudor for "Kingscote" in 1838 (Fig. 4) shows how pleasant these wooden variations can be.

V. THE NEW FREEDOM, c. 1865-1880

The post-bellum frenzy ushered in the wildest forms of eclectic extravagance, entirely compatible with the new operatic spirit of the robber barons. Just such a stylistic mêlée dominated the Centennial Exposition of 1876, for instance, and had profound influence throughout the entire realm of architectural design. In other words, the first fruits of the machine age began to be felt in all directions, spreading confusion among the skilled trades, lowering standards throughout, and lending a new importance to milled lumber, standardization, and mass production in all departments of the building industry.

There now entered the pervading influence of the turning lathe, the incising machine, the jig-saw, and every other ingenious mechanical substitute for the hand-wrought article. Practically nothing could withstand this powerful onslaught of mechanization. If we would comprehend the new trend in the arts and crafts of building following the Civil War, we must take this other historic phenomenon into consideration. In the light of sympathetic analysis its implications may not have been entirely sinister, for in spite of it, some well-known architects and some utterly unknown builders managed to achieve a measure of beauty, based upon a romantic indulgence in the picturesque and a startling new freedom in all departments of American living.

The summer resort hotel and cottage of this ebullient post-bellum era fell completely under the sway of mechanical methods, since they, especially, represented inexpensive frame construction. Such mushroom colonies as that at Oak Bluffs on Martha's Vineyard, where the evangelist movement annually

attracted swarms of cottagers, shows us playful arrangements of jig-sawn boards enlivening the gables and verandahs of otherwise barren little sheds. Curiously enough, the patterns themselves often show considerable feeling for geometric arabesques and highly conventionalized floral motifs gathered from the ubiquitous plan book of the period, published both here and abroad (Fig. 6).

In the planning of these countless buildings at popular summer resorts, there entered a vital element soon to have a profound effect upon the entire character of our residential architecture: namely, a new freedom, involving a fresh approach to nature and out-of-door living, a conscious search for and response to the building site, a novel type of summer-resort family life—stressing informal ease and restless activity, and a high degree of experimentation with local building materials in order to produce new forms and shapes for new needs. The resulting summer-resort idiom soon became strictly American in concept and execution.

While found originally along the eastern seaboard and mountainous regions, this trend eventually spread over the entire continent. Out of it came our later concept of the suburban dwelling, influenced by the English garden city movement and romantic ideas of landscape design.

The earlier Gothic revival had already introduced the fashion for asymmetrical composition. In its later post-bellum phase, it further flaunted tradition by placing rooms exactly where wanted, for the sake of convenience or the view. In other words, our architects began to plan from within rather than from without. The resulting freedom of form really fitted better into the scheme of romanticism, while at the same time it met the new requirements to perfection. "The development of the summer resort cottage," said Professor Hamlin in his exhibit, "followed the development of the resort idea inevitably. It is noteworthy that the designers . . . realized at once that the summer cottage was a different and a special problem, requiring a distinctive solution. . . . The Gothic and pseudo-Gothic influences inherent in the Eastlake and Ruskin writings also produced an enormous effect, especially in the seventies." The mounting flood of native and foreign plan books helped likewise to confuse the prospective patron by placing a bewildering array of stylistic possibilities within easy reach, for the first time in the world's history. For this strange state of affairs they had the lithographic press of the mid-nineteenth century and the ubiquitous sepia photograph to thank, both sources being ultra-prolific and equally influential.

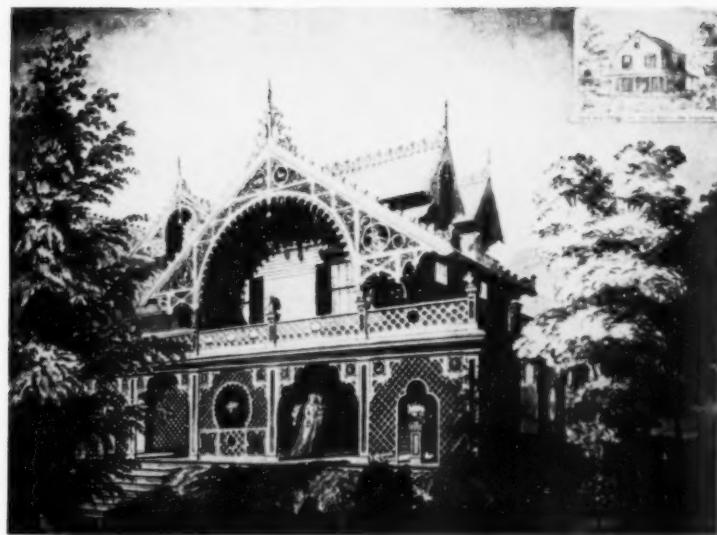


Fig. 6. PUTNAM AND TILDEN, *Cottage at Nahant*, c. 1870

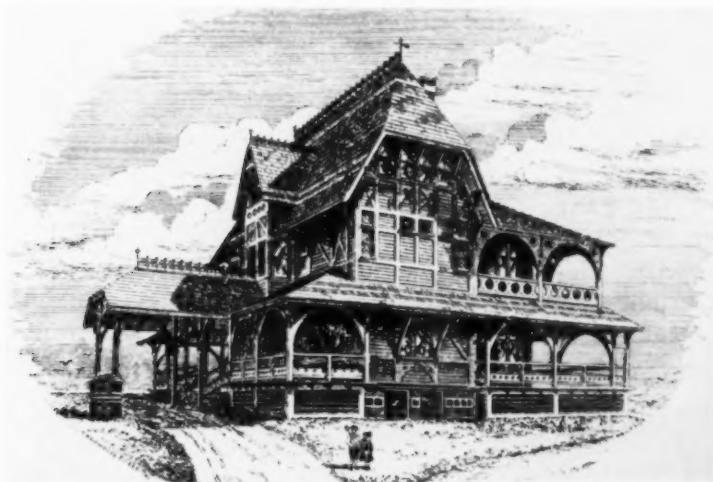


Fig. 7. R. H. ROBERTSON, *Cottage at Seabright, N. J.*, c. 1875



Fig. 8. JOHN G. PRAGUE, *Hotel Brighton*, c. 1876
Coney Island, N. Y.

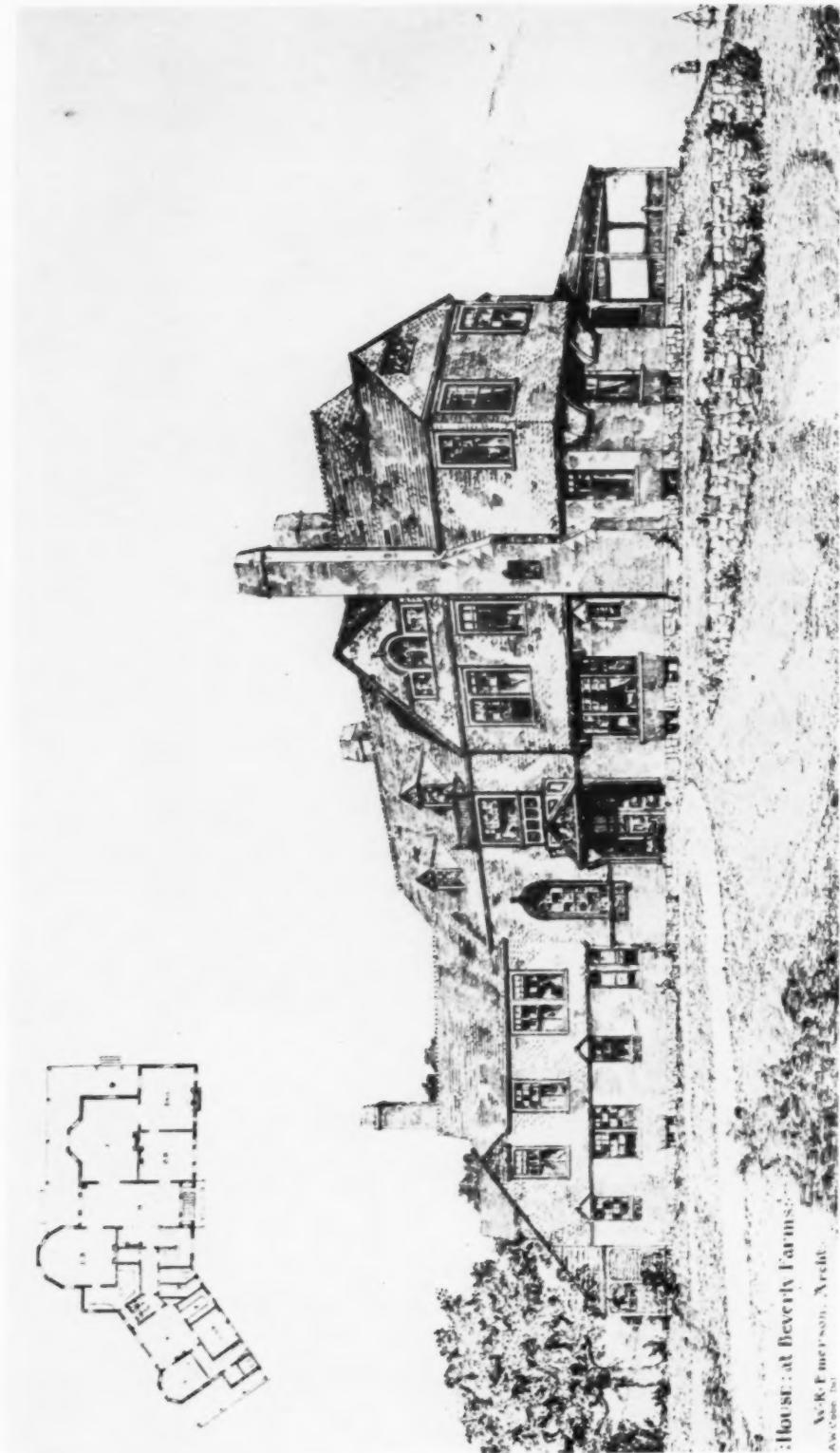


Fig. 9. W. R. EMERSON, House at Beverly Farms, c. 1880

House at Beverly Farms

W. R. Emerson, Archt.
Architect

The fanciful elegance of the imaginative jig-saw work of the Nahant Cottage by Putnam and Tilden (1873) (Fig. 6) is an extreme example of one expression of this trend; the timbering of the Seabright Cottage by R. H. Robertson (1876) (Fig. 7) is another. The problem of the summer cottage was manifestly difficult. Cheapness was almost always a necessity. Swiss chalet and bracketted examples were numerous; with occasional Italian villas they dominated the summer architecture of the fifties and sixties while plan books of the eighties often preserved and perpetuated the forms current twenty or thirty years before. Thus some sea-side cottages of the eighties still resemble the stiff, jig-saw decorated cottages erected in the late sixties and seventies along the beaches and especially in such "camp-meeting" centers as Oak Bluffs, Martha's Vineyard, or Asbury Park, New Jersey. But as the sixties and seventies were dominated by Eastlake and Ruskin Gothic, so, in the summer cottage field, the eighties were completely under the sway of that queer mixture of Classic, Gothic, and purely new forms which we call the "Queen Anne" style. Half-timber, Palladian motifs, classic scrolls, and incised ornaments are all used together. The stained and weathered shingles and the gambrel roofs which were growing common in summer cottages also affected the summer hotels. As the custom of spending the summer in the country increased throughout the nineteenth century, so also did the number of summer hotels. In the effort to make them pay during their necessarily short season, their size also increased until their vast length and customary cheapness produced almost unmanageable shapes. The current romanticism of the seventies and eighties showed itself in the repetition of gables, dormers, and towers. Underlying many also was the mansard roof scheme, as shown in the Hotel Brighton at Coney Island, erected in a half-timber hybrid (Fig. 8).

The Boston school of architects shone with considerable brilliance in supplying Classical themes drawn from their Colonial heritage. William Ralph Emerson early led this field at Bar Harbor (Fig. 9). Putnam and Tilden spread their fanciful creations along the North Shore (Fig. 6) while Peabody and Stearns erected more substantial and elegant Queen Anne examples. Carl Fehmer specialized in striking adaptations of the Anglo-Bavarian-Swiss styles of exposed timber construction.

The New York school seemed to favor eclectic variations of the Gothic Revival, based upon English and Bavarian pictorial sources. Calvert Vaux and Julian Munckwitz early displayed their skill in a variety of pavilions for Central Park, just then laid out by Olmsted. Cyrus Eidlitz, Henry Fernbach,

and Detlef Lienau favored the Bavarian half-timber styles, while R. Michell Upjohn, Renwick and Sands, J. C. Cady, and Edward Tuckerman Potter preferred the Ruskin-Gothic.

As for Newport, each school competed upon equal terms for the rich prizes of patronage. Richard Morris Hunt early led the field with his flare for a Normandy half-timbered theme. George Champlin Mason of Newport followed suit, while Charles Follen McKim, Stanford White, and Henry Hobson Richardson aimed at rationalizing all current trends into a new kind of homogeneity based upon simple masses and original detail.

At Saratoga and vicinity, Gilbert Bostwick Croff spread a kind of Second Empire magnificence with a liberal hand. But everywhere, the ubiquitous plan book dazzled the less ambitious or discriminating.

VI. THE GOLDEN AGE, 1880-1905

Set in motion by the cultural growth following the Centennial Exposition of 1876, there blossomed forth what we may rightly call the Golden Age of summer resort architecture in America, lasting for at least a quarter century. It reflected the post-bellum industrial bonanza, our boundless optimism, our phenomenal expansion, the capitalistic phase of nineteenth century democracy, and an air of utopian promise. It ushered in the greatest freedom and originality as to plan and elevation, building site, selection of materials, and ideas of comfort—not to say luxuries—unknown to the previous generation. In fact, this new freedom in all things produced an extraordinary scheme of affairs not to be found elsewhere and absolutely indigenous to our soil and traditions.

This Golden Age coincided with the so-called Queen Anne or Free Classic style which came to us from England at the time of our Centennial, when the historic events of our Colonial era established a sentimental nostalgia for classic forms once more. Many progressive English architects had already revived their own Renaissance styles in protest to Ruskin's intense Gothic fervor, and had also borrowed inspiration from the Low Countries to which their ancestors had similarly turned long before. The results both there and abroad produced a free classic architecture in the truest sense. In the matter of ornament, the American Queen Anne or Free Classic style at first added a veneer of Renaissance forms to the detail inspired by Eastlake in England and the Neo-Grec school in France, and later succeeded in reviving our own

Colonial-pre-Revolutionary idiom in toto.

This new vernacular, lasting roughly from 1880 until early in the twentieth century, produced much of the best in our summer resort architecture. It not only accepted the new gain in freedom but actually enhanced it, providing a brilliant solution to the pressing problems ushered in by the machine age. Our best architects were not slow to seize upon it, and almost immediately issued an impressive series of near or actual masterpieces impossible to match elsewhere for their peculiar qualities. Of course, this golden age in summer resort architecture coincided with an era of great new wealth, ambition, and higher standards of luxury. Yet it really established the basis for our subsequent scheme of suburban and country life, already in process of crystallization. It differed radically from anything gone before and was caused solely by the impact of industrialism upon romanticism. How significant therefore, and worthy of our consideration!

This unjustly maligned Free Classic style took over the summer resort abode and often made a thing of beauty of it. While many of the earlier designs had indeed achieved a certain picturesqueness, they probably denied their occupants considerable comfort. Now, however, thanks to the new demand for social freedom, this idiom could satisfy it in large measure within a highly picturesque scheme, yet one perfectly adapted to the building site. This was a remarkable achievement for so short a time, and is indicative of the rapidity with which our national culture was congealing. Perhaps if it were not for the genius of our leading architects we should not have acquired such eminently suitable summer resort abodes so early. But, on the other hand, the American way of life was asserting itself vigorously in this new direction and would have demanded some such setting for its new-found freedom.

What gave this Free Classic style its principal characteristics must be attributed largely to that Boston-Portland school of architects upon whom the survival of the local seventeenth and eighteenth century models had such a powerful effect. In fact, the essence of our building habits, as far as these pioneering designers were concerned, had never really died out, but remained dormant, ready to be revived at the earliest opportunity. The informal ensemble of farmhouse, shed, and barn of the New England coastal region and hinterland served as their immediate source of inspiration as to the general mass and selection of materials, while published views of the more monumental prototypes in England or Holland lent a note of correctness in small things, so essential to eclectic taste (Figs. 10 and 11).

What distinguished these Free Classic structures from their prototypes arose entirely from their relation to the building site, to the choice of local materials, such as rough boulder and ledge stone, or shingles left to weather, and from their response to a changing set of requirements.

Now, the old farmhouse could never be confused with the new summer resort cottage, as, intentionally, it would be a generation later. The zeal for revivalism was never dulled by mere antiquarianism, as it would be later. All was fresh, inventive, highly original, yet romantic, completely appropriate, and wholly unlike its own American or any foreign prototype. The total effect of these large, frame-constructed masses was very powerful indeed, absolutely forthright, and distinctly native in the way they expressed a new kind of social freedom at the shore and in the mountains. This new type actually established a tradition instead of repeating one, paving the way, as I have said, for the development of the garden city or landscaped suburb of a generation later.

American summer resort architecture thus came of age through a process of native rationalization. Whether hotel or cottage, these Free Classic designs conformed to the same general outline, seeming to rise from the untilled earth about them. In composition, these long, low, predominantly horizontal masses received a varied treatment. Being largely covered with weathered shingles, the walls, roofs, gables, and dormers merged into one homogeneous mass, not unlike the rock formations or forest growth about them. Windows now played a role of new importance, as may be imagined, being placed oftener from *interior* consideration rather than from *exterior*, and grouped in horizontal rows. Indoors, the fire-place now dominated the scheme, being made wide and welcoming, and flanked by built-in arrangements of cabinet-work profusely laden with Neo-Georgian detail. Yet the urge towards simplicity of form was instinctive in the summer house problem, and occasionally, definite signs are to be seen of a break with the Queen Anne eccentricities and a return to almost Colonial directness (Fig. 12).

Among the architects who were important in the development of this new type of cottage in the United States was William Ralph Emerson. His work grew out of earlier Queen Anne types, the details of which he never completely deserted. But from 1875 on it shows a growing freedom from its prototypes, a growing originality, a growing dependence upon simple, rough stone and wood shingles (Fig. 9).

One of the best and most creative of the designers of this new type of house was John Calvin Stevens (1856-1940) of Portland, Maine. The weathered

grey cottages which he designed dot many cliffs and islands of the Maine coast. They are always carefully planned for view, sun, shade, and air, with ample piazzas and wide, inviting windows. There is usually no detail of historic or stylistic type in them; they are all free creations within the summer cottage tradition (Fig. 10). Other architects, especially those of Boston, like William Dabney and Edmund Wheelwright, were working along the coast and in the mountains, developing simple forms closely hugging the ground, and building in the simplest of local materials.

Many of the best of these cottages were never published or photographed. Some are by unknown local builders working directly from clients' demands or sketches. All have definite qualities of integrity, simplicity, and functional relation to the site. The best of them represent a climax of American architectural development in their creation of original, freely designed forms based on materials, location, and a special way of life (Figs. 11 and 14). By the nineties, the transition from Queen Anne to the new type was complete in use of materials, spreading roofs, and wide openings. The Taylor House, Newport (Fig. 12), shows how Colonial details were replacing Queen Anne ornament.

Through the next two decades, hundreds of cottages were built in New England, around Philadelphia, and elsewhere by many architects in which the same ideas of free planning and perfect simplicity and directness were sought. Around Philadelphia, Wilson Eyre composed shingle masses with great originality (Fig. 13). At the same time, a new influence towards a free summer architecture was growing up in the Middle West under the influence of Louis Sullivan, George Grant Elmslie, and Frank Lloyd Wright. The cottages which Sullivan designed in 1890 at Ocean Springs, Mississippi, used the wood shingles and the simple forms current in the best Eastern work, but he used them with a new simplicity and directness characteristic of his work. The country-house work of the firm of Purcell and Elmslie carried on this style with growing freedom and command, using wide-open, simple plans, flattish hipped roofs, emphasizing horizontal lines.

The idiosyncrasies of the Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago schools tended to merge more and more during the golden age into that extraordinarily homogeneous type of resort structure which everywhere seemed to be the direct expression of the public demand (Fig. 14). If anything, the Boston school excelled in the purity of their Colonial adaptations. The old and the new Colonial often stood in the shade of the same elm tree at the

more crowded places, and in complete harmony. Arthur Little and Frank Wallis led the field by making measured drawings of old buildings *for purposes of inspiration, but never for imitation*. They were followed, along the North Shore, Maine, and Cape Cod by William H. Dabney, Jr., Wheelwright and Haven, Hartwell and Richardson, and Andrews, Jacques, and Rantoul, besides others. But that genius of Portland, John Calvin Stevens, evolved an idiom of wooden shingles owing allegiance to no previous style (Fig. 10). He inspired Emerson, Henry Paston Clark and Ion Lewis, and a host of others everywhere to do the same.

Of the New York school, Hunt competed vigorously with the rising splendor of McKim, Mead and White. He drifted rapidly towards the historic French styles of manorial dignity, while they divided honors between the Colonial Revival (Fig. 12) and the Italian palace type. Peabody and Stearns excelled in handsome Free Classic designs at the more luxurious resorts. Bruce Price (Fig. 11), William Appleton Potter, James Brown Lord, Charles Coolidge Haight, and Lamb and Rich further Americanized the English half-timber style, while Manly Cutter and William A. Bates often specialized in glacial boulders.

But at Newport, it was the hey-dey of splendor, and novelty seemed to fall into disfavor as wealth became more securely entrenched. This same megalomania likewise spread to Lenox and Bar Harbor. It is time to take up that influence of this fashionable misdirection upon our development.

VII. NEWPORT—THE GILDED CAGE

The rustic simplicity earlier described by Ward McAllister did not long survive the Civil War. Upon the crest of the industrial bonanza, Newport now turned towards Europe and the glamor of coronets. It became an orchidacious growth neither European nor American, but, as Oscar Wilde would say, "just utterly other." Vast new fortunes in the hands of socially ambitious wives led our operatic robber barons to create a miniature Monte Carlo wherein a Casino would do for larger gatherings, while pretentious ocean villas, then chateaux, and finally palaces might do for what little private life there could remain.

It is easy to understand how thoroughly this atmosphere of artificial exclusiveness began to permeate that idyllic Island retreat. Is it any wonder that the New Freedom already burgeoning at other resorts should receive a cold

shoulder at this new stronghold of the Four Hundred?

It is not in the least puzzling therefore why so many commissions for Newport cottages fell so far short of the high standards which were becoming almost a commonplace elsewhere, and why Newport largely led the pace for the wrong approach to the entire conception of the garden city a generation later. The way the public then aped the worst features of Newport life, modes, and architecture is a somewhat ridiculous phenomenon. Yet it cannot be over-estimated when dealing with the failures in our later development of the garden city idea in our interpretation of landscape design.

By 1870, Newport was the acknowledged and accepted summer center of American society, and its character of opulence and luxury definitely determined. This extraordinary concentration of wealth made the architectural development of Newport, and to a less extent, of Bar Harbor, an entirely different story from that of the smaller, less affluent places.

Each Newport family desired, not a cottage, but at least a villa (Fig. 15), and often a mansion or a palace (Fig. 16); yet all must be called cottages none the less! The most prominent architects of the day were employed at Newport, the most fashionable styles followed. With expense almost unlimited, the results were buildings that illustrate amazingly—sometimes even caricature—the flow of architectural styles in America. Richardson, McKim and Hunt all worked at Newport.

The habit of lavish palace building set by Hunt and his contemporaries has continued at Newport until very recent years. Ostentatious extravagance seems in many of these structures to be the chief aim of the design. They are generally marked by considerable bravura of composition, but are all, from 1890 onwards, frankly derivative. These are no longer summer cottages; these are French chateaux or Italian palaces. While often picturesque in themselves as mementos of familiar European masterpieces, these villa-chateau-palace summer resort cottages do not compare with the vastly more original ones of native stone and shingles previously mentioned. In fact, they had only an adverse influence upon the entire resort and garden city development, because they gave validity, in the public eye at least, to the exploitation of insincerity. Worse yet, whatever ground the practice of landscape design had gained in the realm of city parks and rural estates up to that time, it received a distinct set-back by the malpractices in vogue at Newport. There, a pretentious pile would be erected upon a cliff's edge or a small, almost suburban lot, preventing for all time what might be done in the way of good axial

planning upon a scale commensurate with the house and its style! If such and such were the vogue at Newport, certainly it was worth repeating elsewhere.

This neglect of all the potentialities of landscape design, save for a few noble exceptions, at the de luxe summer resort in particular and at the simpler ones in general, set an unhappy precedent for the future of the new garden city movement. It meant that while we evolved a most elastic new residential idiom in architecture, we failed to rationalize historic precedents in landscape design to a comparable degree. Hence the message of the summer resort during its golden age was only half a message. We succeeded with sticks and stones but failed with nature. This disproportion between the two arts led to sad results, culminating in countless dreary examples, at Newport and elsewhere. And in the early twentieth century the tradition of free design and rational planning which had set out so persuasively and with such valid architectural promise during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, gradually "petered out." More and more past styles and types began to control the field.

VIII. THE ANTIQUARIAN LUST, 1905 ONWARDS

By 1900 at least, that type of high-handed antiquarianism exploited with such a flourish by Stanford White, and imitated by the less gifted upon every side, gradually clipped the wings of the Free Classic style. Upon a humbler scale, too, there was a vogue for picking up our American antiques at country auctions "for a song." This quest for the quaint, so ably launched by Wallace Nutting's tinted photo's of old New England interiors, had a most disastrous effect upon the summer resort house, since it must now imitate the original farmhouse which twenty years before had inspired its development. Or, better yet, an abandoned farm might be restored to a pristineness which it had never before enjoyed and would be filled with these new-found ancestral furnishings. Thus the age of deception dawned with this so-called enlightened century.

The consequent descent to mediocrity merely brought fresh onslaughts of eclecticism, which accompanied the sudden metamorphosis of the summer resort into the garden city, and spread fan-wise over the nation. But out of this welter of imitation a few honest souls attempted to reconcile the gains of the Free Classic with both the garden city and the antiquarian lust. Charles Adams Platt achieved a new degree of integration by welding architecture and landscape design into a compact entity, for perhaps the first time in

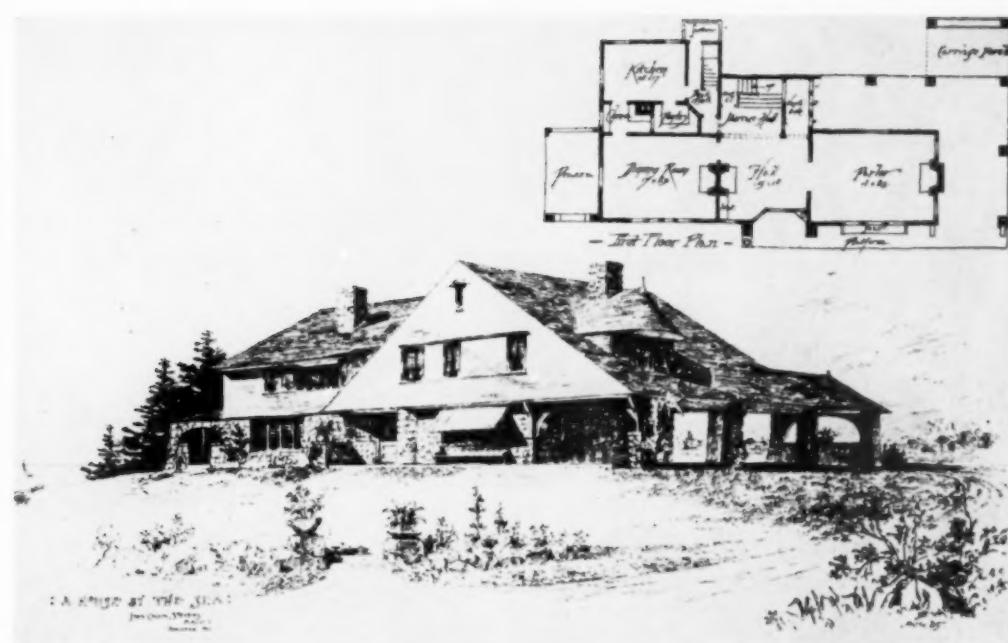


Fig. 10. JOHN CALVIN STEVENS, *A House by the Sea*, 1885
Portland, Maine

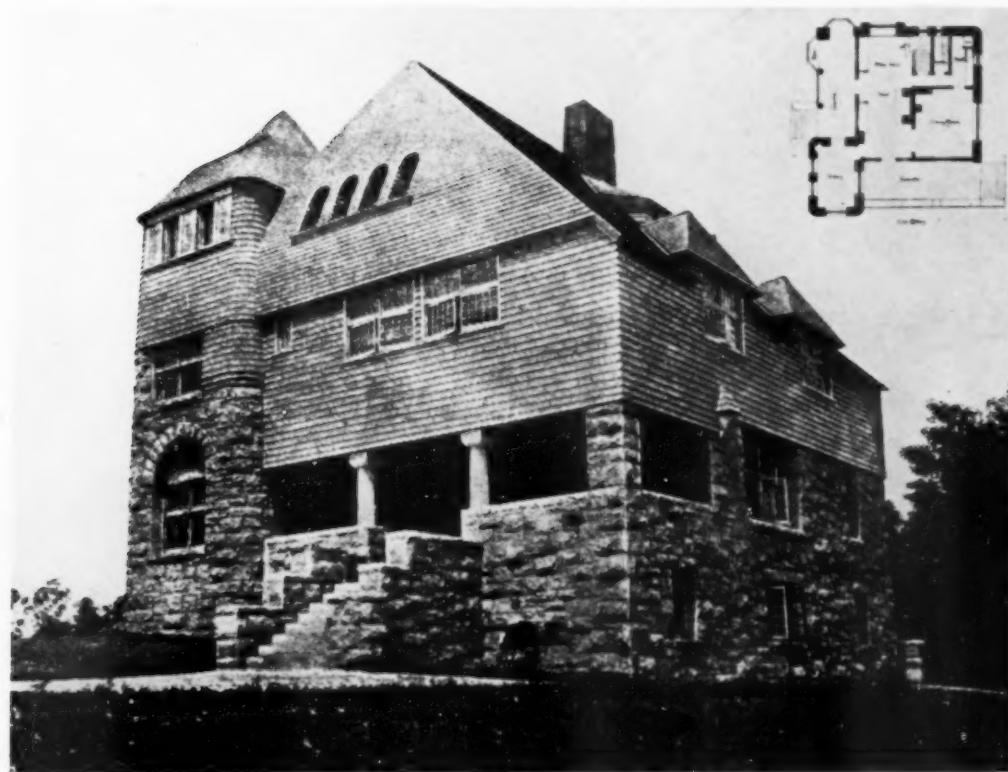
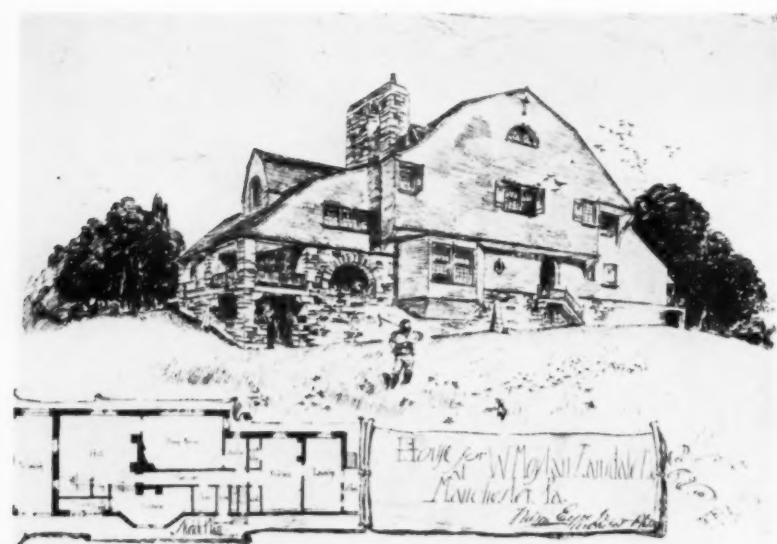


Fig. 11. BRUCE PRICE, *Tower Hill Cottage*, c. 1885
Tuxedo Park, N. J.



*Fig. 12. MCKIM, MEADE AND WHITE, H. A. C. Taylor House, 1886
Annandale Road, Newport, R. I.*



*Fig. 13. WILSON EYRE, JR.
House for W. Moylan Lansdale, Esq., 1887
Manchester, Pa.*



*Fig. 14. EDWARD T. HAPGOOD, For Henry Steers, Esq., 1889
Adamsville, R. I.*

America. This fresh combination of Pan-Hellenic, Italianate, and strictly native elements had the good fortune to emanate from the Cornish, (New Hampshire) settlement of artists, of which Augustus Saint Gaudens was then esthetic *doyen*, accounting for a new and admirable emphasis upon landscape design and glyptic form. The blending of the necessary architectonic and glyptic elements produced both pleasing and enduring results (Fig. 17). Platt's imitators, unfortunately, fell into the mistake of importing sculpturesque bits after the manner of Isabella Stewart Gardner and George Grey Barnard, instead of allowing our sculptors to create original work for a given scheme, thus cheating the American sculptor of at least half a century of normal development.

With the rise of what I call the "antiquarian lust," summer cottages all over the country ceased being entirely themselves and became instead, primarily French, English, Italian, or Colonial. The old, free, open, shingled house went out-of-fashion. Every new builder in fashionable resorts set out to rival his neighbor in the accuracy of his stylistic architecture. If an old house could not be found, one was built. Sometimes the old style was modified more or less creatively; sometimes copied carefully. The inevitable consequence of eclecticism was to produce mansions rather than cottages. The difference between the summer house on the coast or in the mountains and the suburban or country residence for all-the-year-round living tended to disappear entirely.

IX. REFORM, 1940 ONWARDS

While the essence of the summer resort seems not only to have been eclipsed by the garden city, but absorbed into it as well, there is some consolation in knowing that a spirit of reform flourishes beneath the surface.

The very elements which conditioned American life throughout the nineteenth century and produced the summer resort were bound to accomplish its metamorphosis into the garden city of the twentieth century. This transition was inevitable. But for the summer resort with all its implications of a social, economic, stylistic, and sentimental nature, the garden city suburb could not have evolved so suddenly and without precedent. It is equally apparent that the better housing and slum clearance movements of the depression decade owe their chief impetus to the lure of the landscaped suburb. It is to be hoped, therefore, that a reform in the realm of landscape design will save this second development from the pitfalls of its predecessor.

We must realize that the garden city is but a socialized form of the summer resort, generally speaking. But what was possible for the few to achieve in the way of a closer union with nature, in a sparsely settled country, is now quite difficult for the many to enjoy, owing to the results of capitalistic democracy, industrialism, and urbanization. Any solution seems to lie in the direction of large-scale country-town-city-planning, embracing our entire Nation from coast to coast. Here is where we need the complete coöperation of landscape design with architecture as it has never existed in America, upon any comprehensive scale, to insure that in given areas, we shall have proper zoning, park and recreation areas, restricted motor arteries, inconspicuous garaging, privacy, gardens, fields, and woodland; that we shall have a proper integration of industrial and commercial areas with residential ones; and that we can be sure of enjoying the delights of Nature without the annoyances of a mechanized civilization. We must "develop land for human use and enjoyment", as Olmsted so succinctly put it.⁴

Chastened by the "International" school of Frank Lloyd Wright, Oud, and Gropius, such native designers as Richard Neutra and William Wurster often recapture something of the essence of the original resort idea, quite as romantic in point of setting and sensitiveness to it as those of sixty years ago and more. Smaller cottages and beach houses replace the earlier mammoth palaces. Great areas of glass beckon the sun and the landscape; wide openings and free, open planning marry the out-doors and the in-doors. Again, materials and form alike tend to integrate the house with its site, whether in Maine or California. Although occasional examples are found of strict "International Style" work, the greater number, especially those in the San Francisco region, are purely American in type, a new expression of an old American tradition.

¹ Author of *Architecture Through the Ages*, New York, 1940.

² Eclecticism may be defined as that deliberate search for positive inspiration among any or all possible sources, and eclectic architecture as that type which incorporates different historical systems of construction or ornament within the same scheme.

³ Cassell Publishing Company, New York, 1890.

⁴ So Armistead Fitzhugh, Esq., landscape architect of New York City, tells me.

NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Courtesy of The New York Historical Society.
Fig. 2. From *Valentine's Manual*, 1859. Courtesy of the Museum of the City of New York.
Fig. 3. Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture of Rhode Island*, Rhode Island Museum Press, Providence, 1931, pl. 53.
Fig. 5. Henry Russell Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, pl. 57.
Fig. 6. *The Sketch Book*, VI (1873), pl. 23, edited by the Portfolio Club, published monthly by James R. Osgood & Company, Boston.
Fig. 7. *American Architect and Building News*, I (1876).
Fig. 8. *Op. cit.*, IV (1878), No. 141.
Fig. 9. *Op. cit.*, IX (1881), No. 287.
Fig. 10. *Op. cit.*, XVIII (1885), No. 507.
Fig. 11. *Building, A Journal of Architecture*, V (1886), No. 10.
Fig. 12. Henry Russell Hitchcock, *op. cit.*
Fig. 13. *American Architect and Building News*, XXXII (1887), No. 606.
Fig. 14. *Building, A Journal of Architecture*, XI (1889), No. 14.
Fig. 15. Courtesy of W. K. Covell.
Fig. 16. Partially destroyed by fire, c. 1908. Courtesy of W. K. Covell.
Fig. 17. Monograph on the *Works of Charles Adams Platt*, with an introduction by Royal Cortissoz, N. Y., 1913. The Architectural Book Publishing Company, Paul Wenzel and Maurice Krakow, pl. 18.
N.B. All photographs not otherwise credited are published by the courtesy of the Avery Library, Columbia University.



Fig. 15. RICHARD MORRIS HUNT, "Ochre Court," c. 1890
Bellevue Avenue, Newport, R. I.



Fig. 16. ATTRIBUTED TO STANFORD WHITE
The Coogan Estate, c. 1895
Catherine Street, Newport, R. I.

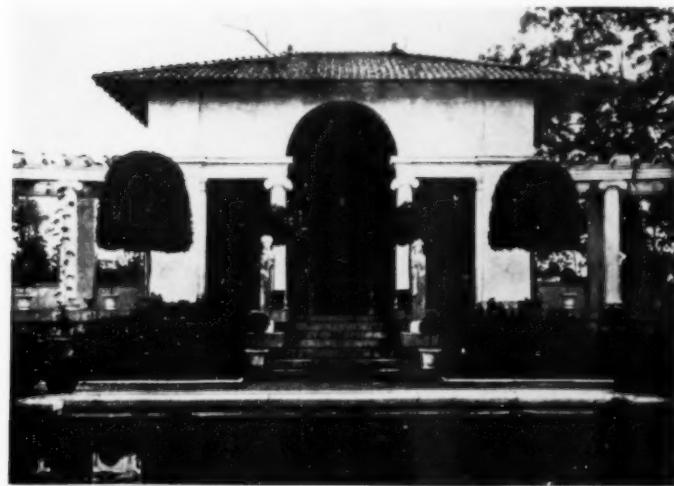


Fig. 17. CHARLES ADAMS PLATT
Faulkner Farm—Gardens, The Casino
Brookline, Massachusetts



Fig. 1. Portrait here identified as Adam Elsheimer, c. 1598-1600
Providence, Rhode Island School of Design



Fig. 2. HENDRIK HONDIUS
The Landscape Painter, Paul Bril, c. 1604



Fig. 3. ADAM ELSHEIMER
Self Portrait. Homage to the Genius of Painting, 1598
Brunswick

PAUL BRIL OR ELSHEIMER? By E. P. RICHARDSON

APORTRAIT of a young artist seated at his easel, called the *Self Portrait* of Paul Bril (Fig. 1), in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design, is one of the most interesting artist-portraits in this country. Clearly done about 1600, it fits very plausibly into the Roman atmosphere in which Bril was an important figure. No other portrait in an American museum represents more vividly the atmosphere of pride and delight in the artist's life in the dawn of the great baroque century. At Rome, where Bril worked, an atmosphere of gay, hopeful studio life prevailed in the years when the baroque spirit was being formed, not unlike that atmosphere for which Murger was to find the name "Bohemia" one hundred and forty years later, when Paris was becoming another world capital of another new spirit. The medieval conception of the artist as a craftsman had faded away; painters had achieved a new conception of themselves as free and independent spirits; the great Italian churchmen were generous and discerning patrons of all kinds of talent; Rome was filled with a crowd of remarkable artists, both Italian and northern; the air was filled with the electrifying presence of great ideas and great personalities. Caravaggio, the Carracci, Domenichino and Bernini, were the most gifted of the Italian; Paul Bril and Elsheimer of the permanent northern colony and Rubens the greatest of the visitors, who in the decades just after 1600 created the spirit of baroque painting. The brawling, turbulent and passionate studio life of Rome which we know from literary accounts, has few pictorial illustrations as revealing as this canvas of a dandified young painter, with his lute and his lovelocks and his bold, melancholy, sensitive and self indulgent face.

The landscape upon the easel, which is the source of the identification as Paul Bril, shows that the young painter belonged to the mannerist school of landscape, in which Bril was a leading figure. But for several reasons it is impossible to accept the identification as Bril.¹ The costume fixes the date of the portrait at not far from the year 1600. In that year Bril was forty-six years old; he had been in Italy a quarter century; and his Italian landscapes all contain Italian architecture. This young artist is hardly more than twenty. The buildings in his landscape are definitely northern, with a village church tower in the style of Flanders or the lower Rhine. Moreover the Hondius portrait engraving of Paul Bril (Fig. 2) in Van Mander's *Schilderboeck* (1604) makes it impos-

sible to identify this young dandy with the grave, correct, middle-aged Bril, whose long head and precise features are of a different configuration altogether.

But if the portrait in Providence is not of Bril, the identity of the sitter is a most attractive question. The striking face and costume, the landscape upon the easel, and the obvious Bohemianism of the sitter's temperament, offer points upon which to erect a theory. The weakest of these is the landscape upon which the identification now rests. It is rather striking in color, built up in a deep, rich, positive blue, a chestnut red, and a strong yellow-green that has almost more of a lemon than a Naples yellow quality. (The rest of the canvas is a harmony of white shading to dark iron-grey, and yellow ochre shading to dark brown.) But it is of so generalized a style that one can hardly say more than that it places the painter in the mannerist landscape school, either of Utrecht, Frankenthal or Rome.

The important landscapists of Frankenthal are too old to be our gilded youth and most of the Utrecht painters can be ruled out by their existing portraits. But Hondius also did a portrait for Van Mander's *Schilderboeck* of Bril's brilliant, short-lived, Bohemian friend in Rome, Adam Elsheimer (Fig. 5), which offers suggestive points of comparison. Elsheimer (1578-1610) arrived in Rome in 1600, at the age of twenty-two. He had studied in Frankfort under the mannerist painter Philipp Uffenbach, and had done some early landscape in the style of the Frankenthal mannerist landscapes. In 1598 he started for Rome via Munich and Venice. Van Mander says that when he arrived there, he knew little enough of art. But he developed rapidly into a brilliant painter, so important in the transition between mannerism and the baroque that Rubens mourned his early death as a loss "for which our whole profession should go into mourning, for it will not easily find another to take his place."

Elsheimer's age and his early connection with mannerist landscape painting are in keeping with the Providence portrait. The landscape upon the easel is no more, nor less, like his work than that of several other mannerists. His dreamy, pleasure-loving, Bohemian nature is, however, quite in keeping with this picture and so is his dandyism. Baglione in his *Vite* (1642) describes him as "of handsome appearance and the presence of a noble." One may say that from these external circumstances, he might be more appropriately suggested as a possible subject than Paul Bril—if the likeness can be shown to correspond with other authentic portraits.

Three portraits illustrate him in his Roman days. Hondius's portrait illustrates him in the first tide of success, about 1604. The portrait in the Uffizi²



Fig. 5. HENDRIK HONDIUS, *Elsheimer at his Easel*, c. 1604



Fig. 4. Adam Elsheimer, c. 1610
Florence, Uffizi



Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 1



Fig. 6. I. MEYSENS, engraved by W. Hollar, Adam Elsheimer

(Fig. 4) and the Meyssens portrait engraved by Hollar (Fig. 6) show him toward 1610, with the harrassed expression indicative of his melancholy and poverty stricken condition before his death in 1610.

It is difficult to compare portraits in different styles, especially when the forms of dress and beard are also different. But the unchanging features of Elsheimer's head, as one sees them in these three portraits, are also characteristics of the head of the Providence portrait. The skull is broad between the ears, and tapers from broad cheekbones down to a pointed chin. The eyebrows are arched, with a vertical furrow of concentration between them. The nose is long, square at the tip, and somewhat crooked so that it appears quite different from either side. The eyes are prominent and, especially in the Meyssens portrait, somewhat bulbous, as they are in the Providence portrait. The hair is thick and curly. And in both the Uffizi (Fig. 4) and Providence portrait (Fig. 7) the ear is of an uncommon and quite distinctive form. The mouth, when not entirely hidden by moustaches, shows a prominent lower lip. It seems to me most unlikely that the same forms of skull, ear, eye and nose would occur together in two different artists, of the same period, school and place; and that the weight of the similarities points toward a probability that the Providence portrait is Adam Elsheimer.

One further circumstance lends weight to this identification. If this gay young lute player is Elsheimer, it must be the earliest of the portraits. One of its most curious features is the tall hat with a visor brim which is obviously a very dashing hat in the mind of its young wearer but which is not the tall Spanish hat fashionable in the Netherlands. I have been unable to find its counterpart in Dutch or Flemish costume about 1600. But when Elsheimer passed through Munich on his way to Italy, he left a drawing of himself in the album of an artist friend (Fig. 3). It shows the young artist kneeling before the Genius of Painting, who is equipped with the appurtenances of the painter's craft—canvas, brushes, palette and mahlstick. The drawing is so small that no attempt is made to reproduce the actual features of the artist. But it shows that Elsheimer took great delight in the idea of the artist's life and in its equipment. And it certainly shows him wearing the same kind of tall hat with visor brim that the Providence painter wears.

If we may identify the portrait in Providence as that of Adam Elsheimer, it is a most interesting document for the period of the birth of the baroque spirit. But the question remains: who painted it? The painter had none of the highly developed plastic sense of the famous mannerists in the Netherlands like

Goltzius or de Gheyn. The figure was drawn, then shaded and colored; the lights in the flesh tones are thin, the darks thicker. It is a thoroughly mannerist painting but not of the highest level of mannerist technique. Nor is it Italian, for the lights and shadows are capricious rather than natural and show none of Caravaggio's influence.

It would be tempting to call it a self portrait. And indeed, it has the look of one so far as pose and composition go. The colors could be Elsheimer's in his pre-Roman period. But the landscape is not so clearly like his early landscapes as one would expect, if Elsheimer himself had done it. And we have no other work by him in this size or style. If it is a self portrait, one can only say that it is the only known work by him in a life-size format (27 3/4 x 30 1/2 inches). It is possible that, on first arriving in Italy, he was stimulated by the scale of Italian painting to attempt one work on a life size scale. But this is wholly conjecture and one cannot exclude the possibility that it is the work of some Flemish painter like Meyssens, or some one of Elsheimer's young contemporaries. And since we lack any close stylistic connection, either with Elsheimer's remaining works or with those of a contemporary, it seems preferable to await further evidence.

We can, however, place the portrait at about the time of his journey to Italy, that is to say, 1598 to 1600. It was a great moment in the history of painting and Elsheimer was to play an interesting part in the events of the next ten years. No comment on the part he played is more revealing than the words written on hearing the news of his death by his great friend Rubens (who knew him in Rome) in a letter to the mutual friend who was also Elsheimer's physician:

"The news that reached me in your letter of the 18th of December (1610) was a bitter grief to me. For such a loss the whole of our profession should go into mourning, for it will not easily find another to take his place. In my judgment he never had his equal in the painting of small figures, in landscapes, and in the greatest variety of subject (*in qual si voglia circonstanze*): moreover he has died while the flower of his studies had not yet reached its fruit, and *ad huc sua messis in arba erat*, so that one might have still expected from him such things as will now never be realized; in *summa ostenderunt terris hunc tantum fata*.

"For myself I can say that I have never been so stricken with grief as by this news; nor can I ever regard with friendliness those who reduced him to this unhappy end. I pray God pardon Signor Adam his sin of slothfulness, by which he deprived the world of the most lovely works, and brought misery and

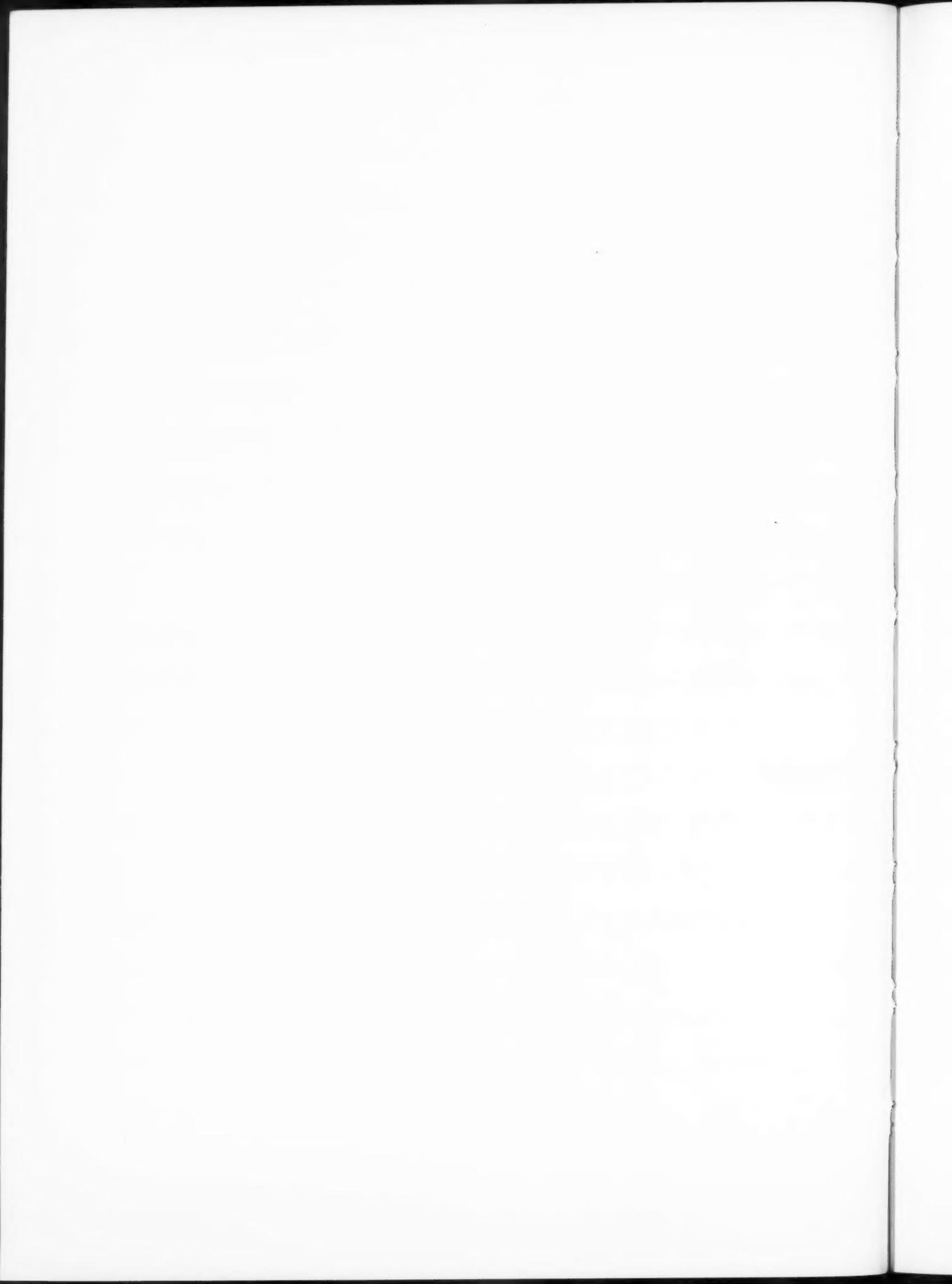
despair on himself, when with his own handiwork he might have made a great fortune and earned the respect of the whole world."³

¹ It was attributed to Bril in the Mensing Sale, 1938, and has borne that attribution since it came to this country. The attribution was not accepted without reservation in Holland, as for instance by Dr. H. E. van Gelder, "Een Schilder aan den Arbeit," *Mededeelingen van den Dienst voor Kunst en Wetenschappen der Gemeente's-Gravenhage*, IV (1937), p. 72.

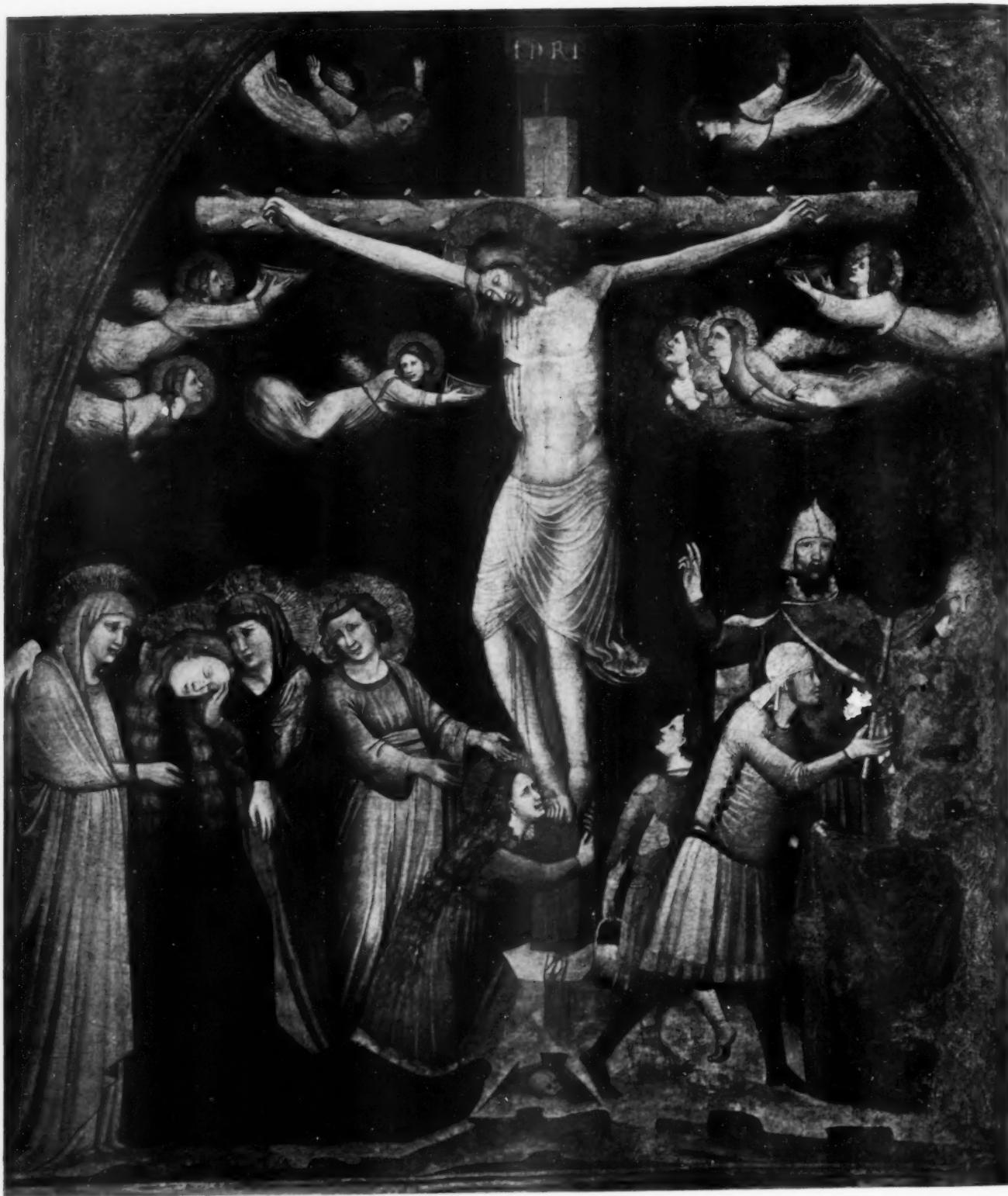
² Heinrich Weizsäcker, *Adam Elsheimer, der Maler von Frankfurt*, Berlin, 1936, believes this may be a self portrait. W. Drost, *Adam Elsheimer und sein Kreis*, Potsdam, 1933, considers it by a Netherlandish painter of the type of Meyssens. It is certainly very Italian in style, however; cf. for example the portrait in Dresden of the musician, Giovanni Gabrielle, by Annibale Carracci.

³ Quoted by A. M. Hind, in *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, III (1925), p. 232 ff, and XIII (1926) p. 9 ff, the best and indeed the only article on Elsheimer in English.

The Editors wish to correct an error in Volume IV, page 117. *The Triumph of Beaumarchais*, mentioned as belonging in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, is in The E. B. Crocker Collection in the San Francisco Museum of Art.



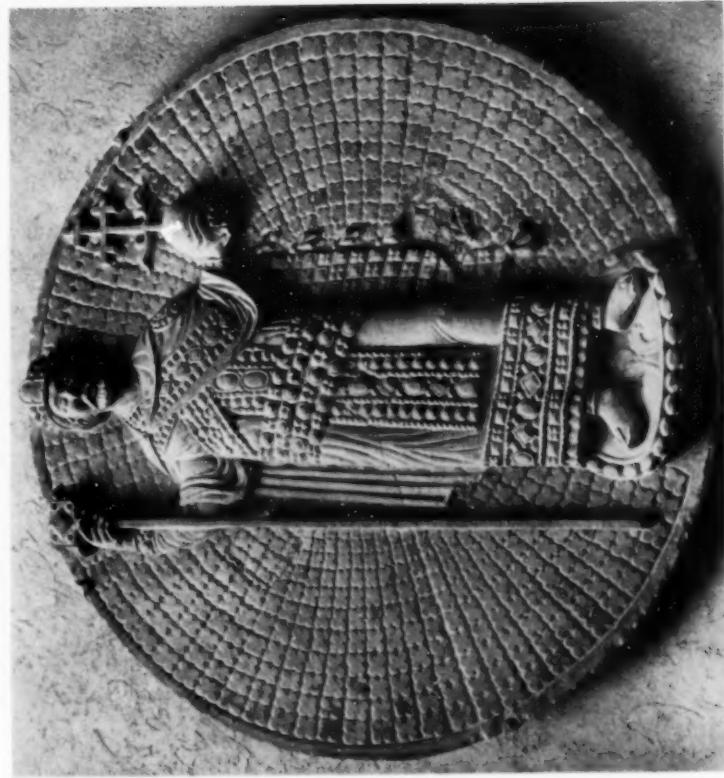
RECENT IMPORTANT
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SCHOOL OF RIMINI, *The Crucifixion* (133" x 108½")
The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



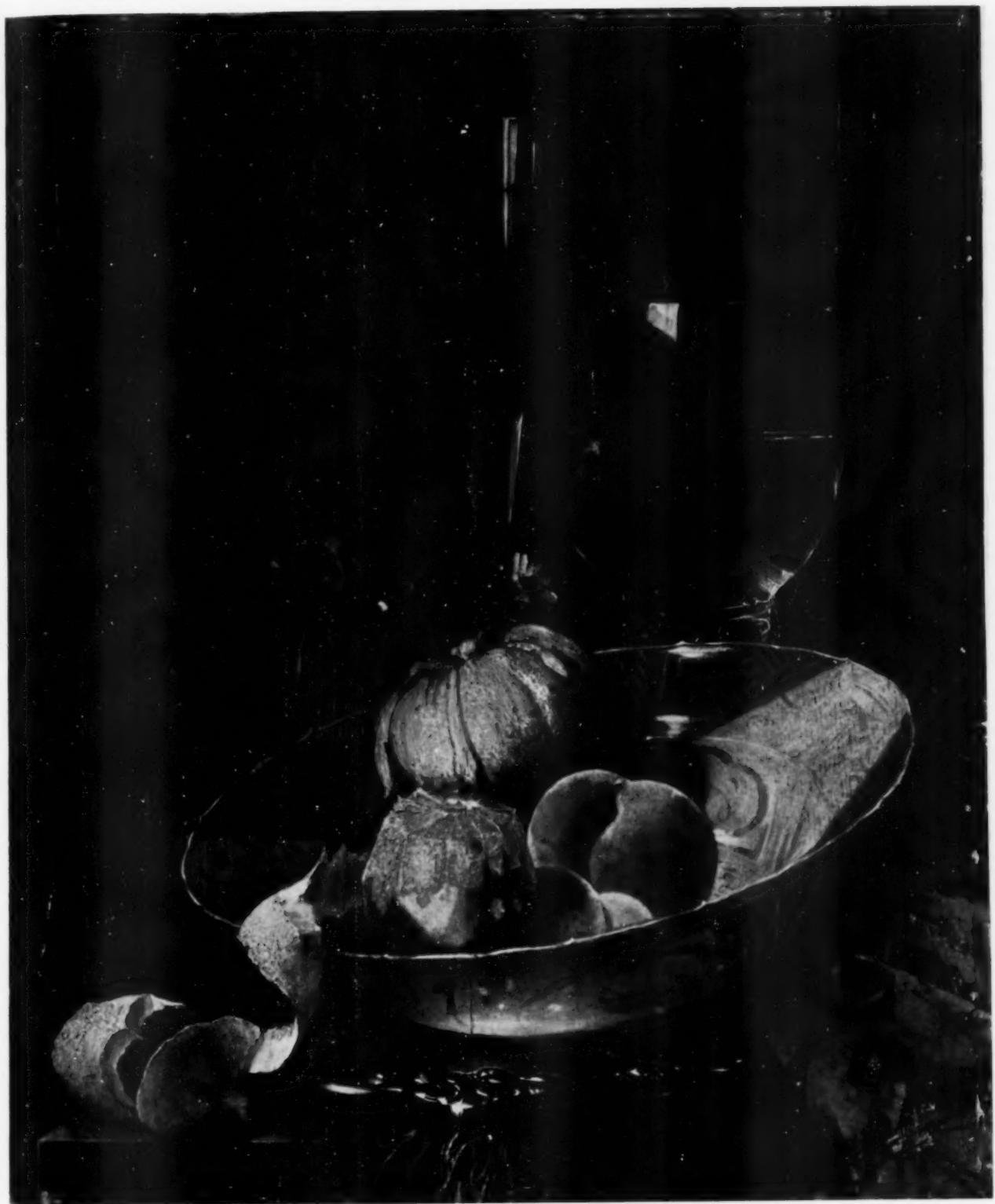
FRENCH XIV CENTURY, *Lady and Gentleman Playing Chess*
The Cleveland Museum of Art
(diameter 4")



BYZANTINE XII CENTURY, *Figure of an Emperor*
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
(diameter 89.5 cm.)



FRANCISCO GOYA, *Portrait of the Condesa de Gondomar* (33" x 25½")
The Detroit Institute of Arts



WILLEM KALF, *Still-Life*
The Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon



ASSYRIAN IX CENTURY, B. C., *Figure of a Winged Genius* (6' x 3')
The Minneapolis Institute of Arts

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THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY CRUCIFIXION

From an article by W. G. Constable in the *Bulletin of The Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, August, 1941

A fourteenth century fresco of the *Crucifixion* recently acquired by the Museum appears to be the only one of its type which can be seen outside Italy. It is large, measuring 133 inches high and 108½ inches wide, the principal figures being somewhat smaller than life size. It is said to have been painted originally for the church of Santa Lucia in Fabriano which now forms the sacristy of San Domenico in that city. At some date in the nineteenth century, judging from the stretcher on which it is now mounted, the fresco was transferred from the wall to canvas. It passed to the Tartuferi Collection in Bologna; from 1894 to 1916 was in the Corsini Gallery, Rome; then in the Convent of St. Antonio in the Via Merulana, Rome, and later in the Castle of St. Angelo. In 1929 it passed through the hands of Professor Podio of Bologna to a New York dealer, was sold to Mr. Hearst, from whom it was repurchased (without the case having been opened) by the same dealer, through whom it came to the Museum.

Removal of the thick layer of dirt and size brought out many details and much color that had been unsuspected, and revealed the painting to be in exceptionally good condition for a work of the period, except for the old damages on the right hand side.

The iconography of the painting has several points of interest. It represents the transition from the symbolic to the historical treatment of the Crucifixion, which is characteristic of fourteenth century Italian art, and of which one of the earliest examples appears in 1260 on the pulpit by Nicola Pisano at Pisa. Substantially, the Museum's fresco resembles in iconography the *Crucifixion* by Giotto in the Arena Chapel, with the

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HUDSON'S DETROIT

fainting Virgin, St. John, and the Holy Women on the left, St. Mary Magdalene at the foot of the Cross, and the centurion with hand uplifted, the soldiers casting lots for Christ's garments, and the sponge bearer, Stephaton on the right. The reed held by Stephaton has almost disappeared, though faint traces are still visible.

There are, however, some notable differences from the Giotto painting. In the group on the left, Giotto follows the gospel of St. John by including the Virgin, Mary the wife of Cleophas, St. John, and St. Mary Magdalene; the Museum picture adds another woman, thereby following the pseudo-Bonaventura (chap. LXXVIII) who says that near the cross, with the Virgin, were John, the Magdalen, and the two sisters of the Virgin, Mary the mother of James, and Salome. In the Giotto fresco, as in most other paintings of the period, the fainting Virgin falls backward; in the Museum painting she is falling forward, an iconographic element which apparently first appears among the Rimini painters. More striking, however, is the attitude of St. John, with his hands outstretched in a singularly poignant and dramatic gesture. I know of only one other similar treatment, in a *verre églomisé* panel of the fourteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, representing the Crucifixion.

Concerning the authorship of the painting, it is difficult to reach any very definite conclusion. Though painted for a church in Fabriano, there is no evidence of a local school capable of producing work of such mastery and sophistication. On the contrary, the types, the iconography, the style, and even the color, relate it definitely to the School of Rimini. It is only comparatively recently that the productions of that school have been systematically considered and analyzed. As a result, it is now clear that the school was more than a purely local and derivative one, and produced a considerable number of paintings of high quality and distinctive character. Broadly, this character results from a deliberate stylizing to give elegance and refinement both in design and in detail; and from the use of a delicate and varied color scheme, in which blue and rose play a considerable part. The result is an emphasis on decorative quality, rather than on movement and drama, though these are not neglected.

In the case of the Museum's fresco, an attempt has been made to connect it with a large fresco of the *Crucifixion* in the chapter house of the Abbey at Pomposa. Certainly, there are very interesting resemblances, notably in the planning of the composition and in the attitude of the Virgin and of the figures supporting her. But the proportions of the figures, the types of face, and the modeling of the forms is different, and seem to belong to a somewhat earlier period; and it is likely that the resemblances are due to a common archetype, perhaps Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel.

A much closer connection is with a group of panels, consisting of a *Coronation of the Virgin with Saints*, a *Crucifixion*, and a *Christ Crucified*, all in the Gallery at Urbino. Comparison of the types of the two saints in the *Coronation of the Virgin*, and of the treatment in their draperies, with those of the figures

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to the left of the cross in the fresco, at once suggest the possibility of their being by the same painter. Similar comparisons hold good in the case of the Urbino *Crucifixion*, reinforced by similarities in the attitude of the Virgin and in the treatment of the figure and draperies of Christ. This last correspondence between the fresco and the panels reappears in the *Christ Crucified*.

Too much stress must not be laid upon comparison between a fresco and works in tempera on panel, clearly produced at different dates in their painter's career, one of which (the *Crucifixion*) is on a small scale. But similarities are enough to make identity of hand probable. The problem is, whose hand that was? Salmi regards the painter of the three panels as an independent master, a follower of Giuliano da Rimini influenced by Pietro da Rimini, and calls him the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin. Others give the *Coronation of the Virgin* to Giuliano himself, and mention Baronzio in connection with the other two, a view not inconsistent with the artist being descended from Giuliano, who appears to have influenced Baronzio.

If the fresco be regarded as by the painter of the three panels, a further comparison suggests possibilities for the author of the whole group. In the Urbino Gallery there is a signed and dated polyptych by Baronzio. If the figures on the left in the fresco are compared with certain figures in the polyptych, notably those of the Virgin and of the woman standing behind the High Priest in the *Presentation in the Temple*, similarities in type and in treatment of the drapery are clear; while in the *Crucifixion* at the top of the polyptych, not only do these similarities also appear, though in a less marked form, but the Virgin is represented falling forward, as in the fresco. More striking is comparison of the head of the centurion in the fresco with the bust of Christ surmounting Baronzio's *Christ Crucified* (1344) at Mercatello.

Here again caution is needed in comparing a large fresco with tempera paintings on a comparatively small scale. But the evidence points to Baronzio being at least associated with the production of the fresco. If so, the fresco serves as a link between Baronzio and Salmi's Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, and strengthens the case for their being the same person.

Secure dating of the fresco is only less difficult than determining its author. Again, however, comparison with Baronzio's work is useful. The figures in the polyptych are somewhat more slender, with proportionately smaller heads, than those in the fresco; and their attitudes are stiffer and slightly more angular. This suggests that the fresco was painted at a somewhat later date than the polyptych, when the influence of Giotto was increasing at the expense of that of Byzantine art. The polyptych is dated 1345; and the fresco may therefore be reasonably dated about 1350.

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figure of an emperor in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

The figure stands out in vigorous relief on a disc with decoration of concentric circles of quatrefoils. Dressed in imperial robes richly embroidered and jeweled and wearing a crown, the emperor holds in his right hand a sceptre and in his left a globe of the world surmounted by a cross. It is very similar in type to a round medallion above the doorway to the Campo Angaran in Venice and is attributed to the twelfth century.

A FRENCH MIRROR-BACK

From an article by Thomas L. Cheney in the *Bulletin of The Cleveland Museum of Art*, October, 1941

The Museum has recently acquired a charming mirror-back, finely illustrative of both the *esprit courtois* and the art of ivory carving of the first part of fourteenth-century France. A gentleman and lady are playing chess beneath a pavilion. The man, seated to the left, wears a hooded, flowing gown; opposite him his fair companion, holding in her left hand three pieces which she has won, wears a similar garment. Her head is covered by a mantle flowing to the shoulders, under which a wimple frames her face and covers her chin. Her coiffure, with the hair gathered at the temples, gives her face a curious triangular effect. A very similar head covering may be seen on a tomb effigy of Blanche of Champagne (died 1283) in the Louvre. The tent drapery frames the scene, in which benches and the chess table are the only furniture.

In the mannerisms of face and figure the players resemble the statues on the façades of some of the great Gothic cathedrals: the faces are good-humored, with small eyes and a mouth somewhat pursy at the corners. The workmanship is excellent. These features, when added to the angular gestures of the players wrists and arms, relate this piece extremely closely to a series of secular ivories of the time, of which the subjects are the events

of courtly life, often depicting one of the medieval romances. Many authorities identify this chess scene, popular for mirror-backs, as a critical moment in the romance of *Huon de Bourdeau*, in which the hero plays chess with the daughter of a Saracen admiral whose chateau he has entered in disguise. If *Huon* loses he is to be decapitated; if he wins, he gains the lady's worts and a sum of money.

The Museum piece is almost identical with one in the Louvre, the only differences being that the Louvre example is larger and has two spectators standing behind the principals; also there are four chimerical creatures around the rim, a common feature of this class of object. The Museum mirror-back may be added to the series of fourteen similar chess-scene mirror-backs in Koechlin, Nos. 1042-1055.

THE CONDESA DE GONDOMAR BY GOYA

from an article by E. P. Richardson in the *Bulletin of The Detroit Institute of Arts*, November, 1941

The portrait of *The Condesa de Gondomar* by Goya (1746-1828), the recent gift of the Ralph H. Booth Fund, is an important addition to the series of masterpieces by the great figures of European art in our museum. It is a well known work, done about the middle of the decade 1800-1810, which is generally conceded to be the high point of Goya's work as portrait painter, and takes its place among the small group of Goya's best portraits of women, along with the *Portrait of a Woman in Grey* in the Louvre, the *Señora Sebasa Garcia* in the Mellon Collection of the National Gallery, Washington, and the *Donna Isabel Cobos de Porcel* in the National Gallery, London. The fact that all of these were done at about the same time (not far from the year 1806, when the London portrait was painted) is indicative of the importance of this moment in Goya's art.

Goya occupies a unique position in the story of painting. The general and instinctive judgment of time, which is fame, seems to be uncertain whether to place him among the Old Masters or among the Moderns. He belongs to both and is sometimes called the last of the great Spanish painters (thus being grouped with Velasquez and Greco) and sometimes the founder of the modern movement. He stands in singular and solitary fashion astride the great dividing line in European history, the era of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.

The *Portrait of the Condesa de Gondomar* is one of the pictures which seems to belong to both worlds. In quiet authority and simplicity of statement it seems one with the great Spanish portrait painters of the seventeenth century. But place the picture with Velasquez, Ribera and Zurbaran and there is a difference, subtle yet decisive—an intensity of spirit, a luminosity of color, an abandon in the touch, that belong to the Romantic age and its heirs. In this Goya is a true Spanish artist. For it is a truism that in Spain, where tradition is so strong, the spirit of the past lingers on to color succeeding ages long after its last vestiges have vanished elsewhere. The Roman world, the Arab, the medieval, were each prolonged there as a living ingredient into succeeding ages. And it is only natural, perhaps, that the grand tone of the imposing and objective baroque world should still be discernible in Goya's romantic and subjective art.

Like the two portraits of women in London and Washington, the Detroit portrait is almost startling in the luminosity of its flesh tones. The Condesa is seated on a very plain wooden chair. Her head, turned to gaze straight at the spectator, and her arm holding the mantilla close against her, have the quality of repose combined with the suggestion of potential movement which is the hall mark of nearly all great portrait painting. The long Spanish face is an oval of very pale ivory and rose; her eyes and hair are brown, her eyebrows firm black lines against the very fair skin. The color scheme depends upon the simple contrasts of the cool, luminous skin, the warm black of the mantilla and dress, the buff of the long glove, and the warm green background. But these simple color contrasts are united and harmon-

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nized by reflections and echoes through the picture. There are dashes of rose and of deep red through the black; touches of white showing through the black lace at her neck, and in the pearly grey fan; green shadows on the yellow glove; and the yellow of the glove is dotted into the frill of black lace around the head by a few stipplings of a brush filled with yellow ochre, to soften the contrast and unite the black silhouette of the figure with the background. But whereas a seventeenth century painter would probably have used glazes for these minor lights and reflections, Goya dashed them on with a full-loaded brush, letting them blend themselves on the canvas in a way that foreshadows Impressionism. Technically, Goya seems here a link between the style of Velasquez and that of Manet. One of his favorite sayings sounds like that of an Impressionist, "A picture, the effect of which is true, is finished."

An artist can only be great where he has deep sympathy: Goya's were almost exclusively for man and his activities. In the great period of his art, to which our portrait belongs, Goya had long outgrown his early adventures, when a sheer excess of energy had led him into all sorts of scrapes. His deafness, dating from an illness of 1792-3, had thrown his attention inward. But Beruete, who as a Spaniard ought to know something of the matter, believed that he was, in these middle years, in harmony with the society of great aristocrats and professional men whom he painted and with whom he lived. The savage bitterness of his old age came after the French invasion of 1808 when the collapse of Spanish society was enough to sour a far less lonely and unhappy old man than Goya. The proof of his harmony with his own world is in the great portraits of the years 1793-1808, among which ours belongs. Such pictures are not produced by a negative attitude toward people or by a scorn of life. They are, in essence, a positive affirmation of life—of the dignity and value of human existence and of its profound significance for the creative mind. It is the energy of this affirmation which gives his portraits a dramatic force far beyond what was in the character of the sitter or the boldness of the brushstroke. (How many feeble paintings have been painted with bold brushstrokes since!) In Goya's time there was a great deal of portrait painting on a high level of competence and professional dignity. If the best of Goya's portraits stand out above them all, it is because the force of his imaginative understanding of life makes them do so.

A STILL-LIFE BY WILLEM KALF

The number of good seventeenth century still-lifes in this country has been enlarged by the discovery of an excellent painting by Willem Kalf (Amsterdam, 1622-1693) concealed by dirt and old varnish in the storeroom of The Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon. The reproduction illustrates the painting after its quality had been revealed by expert cleaning. It is a small but excellent composition on panel of Kalf's developed style after 1660.

The sense of pageantry and love for splendor which formed so large a part in the taste of the baroque, found a happy expression in the still-lifes of Kalf, the most famous and highly regarded of the still-life painters of Amsterdam. His subjects were gold and silver vessels, porcelains, South Sea shells, glasses, agates, Turkish rugs and fruit, piled in a heap upon a table and illuminated by a strong beam of light so that they stand out, profuse and glowing, against a dark background of shadow. His mature style, to which the present picture belongs, is related to Rembrandt's in its warmth of tone and concentrated lighting, and to Vermeer in the cool blue, white and yellow color notes in the light. But this merely means that Kalf used the same pictorial language as his contemporaries: the élan of his painting was his own. No other still-life painter of the baroque surpassed Kalf in subtlety of composition, delicate gradation of light and color, and painterlike richness of texture. His still-lifes are a unique note in the poetry of *things* which was one of the

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great inspirations of the seventeenth century and of the Dutch baroque in special degree.

AN ASSYRIAN RELIEF FROM NIMRUD

From an article in the *Bulletin* of The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, November, 1941

This relief is one of a group of sculptures unearthed during the excavations at Nimrud by Sir Henry Layard about the middle of the last century. It was given by Sir Henry to an American missionary then living in Mosul, and was subsequently presented to an American collection from which the Institute acquired it. The discovery of the remains at Nimrud, on the upper Tigris, was one of the most important of a golden age of exploration. It made possible the further, documented reconstruction of events in a region that is notable not only as the traditional birthplace of civilization but of the human race itself.

The Institute's relief represents one of the winged geniuses or demi-gods that marched in endless procession around the walls of the palace of Ashur-nasir-pal, the king who launched the second great period of Assyrian supremacy, and who is famous alike for his cruelty and for the monuments he raised.

Exactly what was the function of these winged geniuses has not been determined but they must have occupied an important place in the Assyrian scheme of life, for they appear in great numbers in the friezes that decorated the rooms of the king's palace. They are particularly illuminating with regard to the Assyrian sculptural style, because they illustrate the treatment of the body in both its clothed and nude parts. The Assyrians were quite incapable of conveying a sense of form beneath their draperies, and rendered it summarily. In the nude portions, however, as will be seen in the Institute's relief, they lavished upon the rendering of muscular development all the care that is notable in their treatment of costume and detail.

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